

THE INSCRIPTIONS OF SINAI

FROM MANUSCRIPTS OF

ALAN H. GARDINER AND T. ERIC PEET

EDITED AND COMPLETED BY

JAROSLAV ČERNÝ

FORTY-FIFTH MEMOIR OF
THE EGYPT EXPLORATION SOCIETY

PART II

TRANSLATIONS AND COMMENTARY

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PREFACE

IN Part I of this work the authors were obliged to restrict themselves to the publication of copies, as accurate as the nature of the material allowed, of the Egyptian inscriptions found by the expedition of the Egypt Exploration Fund to Sinai in 1905 under the leadership of Professor (later Sir) Flinders Petrie, and also of all other Egyptian inscriptions known to have come from the same source. This part was published in 1917 and in a revised and amplified form in 1952. A second volume of descriptive text containing the translation and interpretation of these inscriptions was also promised in 1917, and indeed its completion was then in sight, for when in 1935 I was invited to revise Part I I received a manuscript of Part II, which had long been ready, to prepare for publication. Professor Peet had provided the Introduction to this and also the treatment of the inscriptions of Serâbî el-Khâdim, while Sir (then Dr.) Alan Gardiner had contributed translations and commentary of the inscriptions of Maghârah. Sir Alan's part was in its final form and required hardly any alteration for its appearance in the present volume. Professor Peet's chapters, however, needed numerous corrections in the light of the revision of many of the Serâbî inscriptions in 1935.

Besides making these corrections my own task consisted in translations and commentary of the new material made accessible since 1917, and in incorporating the results of the general progress of Egyptological science. It has proved technically impossible to assign credit or responsibility for any particular statement to any one of us three authors and I must assume full responsibility for any fault which may be found in this volume. But if at some future time it should be of importance to assess in detail the full credit of my predecessors this can easily be done by comparing the present printed volume with the original manuscript deposited with the Griffith Institute at Oxford.

It has been found necessary to include here a considerable amount of general matter concerning the Egyptian mining activities in Sinai without which the translations would have been of little use and still less interest. Some students may find this part of the volume rather sketchy, but as M. Yoyotte in Paris is engaged in a detailed study of Egyptian mining and quarrying expeditions we have no wish to forestall the work of this able young scholar. Nor is our book intended to displace either Petrie's *Researches in Sinai*, which remains the official record of the expedition, or Weill's two admirable volumes *Recueil des inscriptions égyptiennes* and *La Presqu'île du Sinaï*. Our object has been to supplement these, and to correct them in cases where new evidence has enabled or forced us to differ from their conclusions.

I have endeavoured as far as possible to publish in full the manuscript entrusted to me. The bibliography at the head of each inscription could, of course, be dispensed with now and replaced by reference to volume VII of the *Bibliographical Topography* of Misses Porter and Moss. It is impossible to add to or to improve upon their information and it would have been unfair simply to reprint their text. Where the reference to their volume is absent it is to be assumed that the inscription in question has been published only in Part I of the present work.

In my opinion, however, it was of great importance that all the means of control available to Gardiner and Peet in establishing their plates and locating the monuments should be indicated, even if my own collation of originals settled their doubts one way or the other. Without their painstaking work on material which was often quite inadequate I should never have been able to collate so many inscriptions within the short space of four weeks. The exact date of revision is given for

each monument seen by me; my stay at Serâbî el-Khâdim in 1935 lasted from 29 March to 26 April and I hope that the later the date the greater also was my experience and the accuracy of the revision. But the reader is warned that not all the signs shown on the plates could be checked: many were found damaged or missing in 1935 and it has not been practicable to indicate this on the plates. Here again only an inspection of the plates corrected and annotated on the spot can convey the exact information. This corrected copy of the first edition is also deposited at the Griffith Institute.

All inscriptions, even the most trivial ones, have been translated according to the original scheme, perhaps a rather extravagant practice in present changed conditions. But the decision to translate once taken, it would have been difficult to decide what was important and what could be omitted: the importance of an inscription obviously varies according to the purpose of the reader.

We do not imagine that our translations and commentary are final. In years to come scholars consulting our publication will no doubt succeed in interpreting traces of signs which remained obscure to us or in proposing a better meaning for a passage. It is hoped that they will publish their criticisms; if not, the present editor would be grateful if they would communicate their suggestions to him.

Finally an apology is due for inconsistencies occurring in this volume. That the Egyptian names appear in their Greek form—wherever this is available—in our own text, but in their Egyptian form in the translation is deliberate. But I did not always have the courage to introduce an ʿAyyin into a name, and have been rather inconsistent in distinguishing the Egyptian *h* and *ḥ* and other sounds of the Egyptian language. If inconsistencies of other kinds, in translations of Egyptian titles for example, are reduced to a minimum, it is thanks to the care of T. G. H. James of the British Museum, who kindly consented to compile the indexes and while engaged in this work drew my attention to all kinds of blemishes, both great and small. I wish to express my gratitude to him here, as well as to the Committee of the Egypt Exploration Society for financing the publication in its unshortened form. My thanks are also due to Mademoiselle M. Werbrouck and Mr. A. Mekhitarian of the Fondation égyptologique Reine Elisabeth for photographs of documents from Sinai now at Brussels, and to Mr. Ralph Bankes of Kingston Lacy, Wimborne, Dorset, for permission to publish in this volume reproductions of several drawings by Ricci from among the Bankes manuscripts.

JAROSLAV ČERNÝ
(*Queen's College, Oxford*)

OXFORD
22 August 1954

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

- Abydos* = W. M. F. PETRIE, *Abydos*, 2 vols., London, 1902-4.
- Annales du Service* = *Annales du Service des antiquités de l'Égypte*.
- BANKES MSS. = W. J. BANKES manuscripts on loan to the Griffith Institute, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.
- Beni Hasan* = P. E. NEWBERRY, *Beni Hasan*, 5 vols., London, 1893-1900.
- Berlin { = *Ägyptische Inschriften aus den Königlichen Museen zu Berlin*, 2 vols., Leipzig, 1913-24.
- Berlin A.I. {
- Berlin Med. Pap. — quoted from W. WRESZINSKI, *Der große medizinische Papyrus des Berliner Museums*, Leipzig, 1909.
- Bersheh* = P. E. NEWBERRY and F. LL. GRIFFITH, *El Bersheh*, 2 vols., London, 1895.
- BIFAO = *Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale*.
- BIRCH, *Account* = vol. I of *Survey* (see this).
- B.M. = British Museum.
- BRUGSCH, *Rec. de mon.* = H. BRUGSCH, *Recueil de monuments égyptiens dessinés sur lieux*, &c., Leipzig, 1862-85.
- BRUGSCH, *Thes.* = H. BRUGSCH, *Thesaurus Inscriptionum Aegyptiacarum*, Leipzig, 1883-91.
- BURTON = James Burton's manuscripts in the British Museum, Add. MSS. 25613-75.
- Cairo Stela—quoted from H. O. LANGE and H. SCHÄFER, *Grab- und Denksteine des Mittleren Reiches*, in the *Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire*, Cairo, 1902-25.
- CCG = *Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire*.
- Cemeteries of Abydos* = E. NAVILLE and T. E. PEET, *Cemeteries of Abydos*, 3 vols., London, 1913-14.
- CHAMPOLLION, *Notices* = CHAMPOLLION LE JEUNE, *Monuments de l'Égypte et de la Nubie. Notices descriptives*, Paris, 1844-79.
- COUYAT-MONTET = J. COUYAT and P. MONTET, *Les inscriptions hiéroglyphiques et hiératiques du Ouâdi Hammâmât*, Cairo, 1912-13.
- DE MORGAN, *Cat. des mon.*, I = J. DE MORGAN and others, *Catalogue des monuments et inscriptions de l'Égypte antique*, vol. I, Vienna, 1894.
- DÜMICHEN, *Geogr. Inschriften* = J. DÜMICHEN, *Geographische Inschriften altägyptischer Denkmäler*, 4 vols., Leipzig, 1865-85.
- E. = East.
- E.E.F. = Egypt Exploration Fund.
- ERMAN, *Die Sphinxstele*—publ. in *Sitzungsberichte der Königl. Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Berlin, 1904.
- GARDINER, *Admonitions* = A. H. GARDINER, *The Admonitions of an Egyptian Sage*, Leipzig, 1909.
- GARDINER, *Gr.* = SIR ALAN GARDINER, *Egyptian Grammar*, 2nd ed., Oxford, 1950.
- GARDINER, *Hierat. Pap. in the B.M.* = A. H. GARDINER, *Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum, Third Series: Chester Beatty Gift*, 2 vols., London, 1935.
- GARDINER, *Onomastica* = A. H. GARDINER, *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica*, 2 vols., Oxford, 1947.
- GAUTHIER, *Dict. géogr.* = H. GAUTHIER, *Dictionnaire des noms géographiques contenus dans les textes hiéroglyphiques*, 7 vols., Cairo, 1925-31.
- GAYET = A. J. GAYET, *Musée du Louvre, Stèles de la XII^e dynastie*, Paris, 1889.
- Griffith Studies* = *Studies presented to F. Ll. Griffith*, London, 1932.
- Hierogl. Texts* = *Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae, &c.*, in the *British Museum*, 8 vols., London, 1911 and foll.
- Horus and Seth—quoted from A. H. GARDINER, *Late-Egyptian Stories* (= *Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca*, I), pp. 37 and foll.
- JANSEN, *Eg. Autobiografie* = J. JANSEN, *De traditionelle egyptische Autobiografie vóór het Nieuwe Rijk*, 2 vols., Leiden, 1946.
- JE = number of the *Journal d'Entrée* of the Cairo Museum.
- JEa = *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*.
- Joint Expedition (1930) = Harvard and Washington Catholic University Joint Expedition to Sinai in 1930.

- LACAU, *Sarcophages* = P. LACAU, *Sarcophages antérieurs au Nouvel Empire in the Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire*, Cairo, 1904-6.
- LACAU, *Textes rel.* = P. LACAU, *Textes religieux égyptiens*, in *Rec. trav.*, vol. 26 and foll.
- L.D. = R. LEPSIUS, *Denkmäler aus Ägypten und Äthiopien*, 6 parts, Berlin, 1849-58.
- L.L. = LOTTIN DE LAVAL, *Voyage dans la Péninsule Arabique*, Paris, 1855-9.
- LONDON Med. Pap.—quoted from W. WRESZINSKI, *Der Londoner medizinische Papyrus*, &c., Leipzig, 1912.
- L.P.H. = *Life, Prosperity, Health* as translation of $\frac{\text{𓆎}}{\text{𓆏}}$.
- LUCAS, *Anc. Egn. Mat.* = A. LUCAS, *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Industries*, 3rd ed., London, 1948.
- Meir = A. M. BLACKMAN, *The Rock Tombs of Meir*, London, 1914 and foll.
- Mélanges Maspero = *Mélanges Maspero*, being vols. 66 and 67 of the *Mémoires* of the *Institut français d'archéologie orientale*, Cairo, 1934-8.
- MÖLLER, *Hierat. Pal.* = G. MÖLLER, *Hieratische Paläographie*, 3 vols., Leipzig, 1909-12.
- MS. = Manuscript.
- MURRAY, *Index of Names* = M. A. MURRAY, *Index of Names and Titles of the Old Kingdom*, London, 1908.
- N. = North.
- NE. = North-East.
- Pap. Harris—quoted from W. ERICHSEN, *Papyrus Harris* (= *Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca*, V), Bruxelles, 1933.
- Pap. Kahun = F. LL. GRIFFITH, *Hieratic Papyri from Kahun and Gurob*, London, 1898.
- Peasant—quoted from F. VOGELSANG, *Kommentar zu den Klagen des Bauern*, Leipzig, 1913.
- PETRIE, *Royal Tombs* = W. M. F. PETRIE, *The Royal Tombs of the First Dynasty*, 2 vols., London 1900-1.
- Piankhi—quoted from H. SCHÄFER, *Urkunden der älteren Äthiopienkönige* (= *Urk.* III), pp. 1-56.
- Pl. = Plate.
- PORTER-MOSS, VII = *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs and Paintings*, by B. Porter and R. L. B. Moss, vol. VII, Oxford, 1951.
- P. R. = W. M. FLINDERS PETRIE, *Researches in Sinai*, London, 1906.
- Prisse—quoted from E. DÉVAUD, *Les maximes de Ptahhotep*, Fribourg (Suisse), 1916.
- PSBA = *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*.
- Pyr.—quoted from K. SETHE, *Die altägyptischen Pyramidentexte*, vols. I-II, Leipzig 1908, 1910.
- RANKE = H. RANKE, *Die ägyptischen Personennamen*, vol. I, Glückstadt, 1935.
- Rec. trav.* = *Recueil de travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l'archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes*.
- Recueil*, see WEILL, *Recueil*.
- S. = South.
- SE. = South-East.
- SETHE, *Dramatische Texte* = K. SETHE, *Dramatische Texte zu altägyptischen Mysterienspielen*, Leipzig, 1928.
- Shipwrecked Sailor—quoted from BLACKMAN, *Middle Egyptian Stories* (= *Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca*, II), pp. 41 ff.
- SPELEERS, *Recueil des inscriptions égyptiennes* = SPELEERS, *Recueil des inscriptions égyptiennes des Musées Royaux du Cinquantenaire à Bruxelles*, Bruxelles, 1923.
- Stud. and Doc.* VI = *Studi esand Documents*, edited by Kirsopp Lake and Silva Lake, vol. VI: R. F. S. STARR and R. F. BUTIN, *Excavations and Protosinaitic Inscriptions at Serabit el Khadem*, London, 1936.
- Survey* = WILSON and PALMER, *Ordnance Survey of the Peninsula of Sinai*, 3 vols., Southampton, 1869.
- Urk.* = *Urkunden des ägyptischen Altertums*, edited by G. Steindorff.
- W. = West.
- Wb. = *Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache*, edited by A. Erman and H. Grapow, 5 vols., Leipzig, 1926-31.
- WEILL, *La II^e et la III^e dynasties* = WEILL, *Les origines de l'Égypte pharaonique. Première partie: La II^e et la III^e dynasties* (*Annales du Musée Guimet, Bibliothèque d'études*, vol. 25), Paris, 1908.
- WEILL, *P.S.* = R. WEILL, *La Presqu'île du Sinaï*, Paris, 1908.

WEILL, *Recueil* = R. WEILL, *Recueil des inscriptions égyptiennes du Sinaï*, Paris, 1904.

W. S., see WEILL, *P.S.*

ZAS = *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde*.

Translations of Egyptian texts are indicated by *Italics* throughout.

. designates signs or traces impossible to interpret or translate.

- - - - - designates a lacuna in the original.

() words added in the translation for the sake of clarity.

[] words lost in the original and restored in the translation.


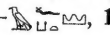
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





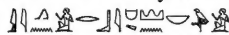

$A < B$ means A derived from B .


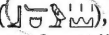
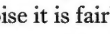
CHAPTER I


INTRODUCTORY. THE EGYPTIANS IN SINAI

SECTION 1. THE EGYPTIAN NAME FOR SINAI



It is an astonishing fact that despite the multitude of inscriptions found in Sinai, and the importance of the peninsula in Egyptian eyes, we are not in a position to say with certainty what name the Egyptians gave to the place. It is true that in the inscriptions of Maghârah, though never in those of Serâbit, the locality is referred to as  (17; variant , 13)^a 'the turquoise terraces' *par excellence*, the word 'terraces' being that applied elsewhere, for example, to the hill-sides on which grew the cedars of Lebanon or the gum trees of Punt. But this is very far from being a specific native name of Sinai or of any part of it.



In the pages of some Egyptological textbooks will be found two names for the two turquoise mining districts of Sinai, Bibit or Bibit-Sneferu, and Binikai. The first of these has been exploded by Weill.^b It is based on a misreading in 28 of the words  'Sopdu, lord of the East'. The sign  is made very like a , and Brugsch, mistaking it for this, translates 'Sopdu, lord of Bibit' adding 'apparemment une désignation de la péninsule'. W. Max Müller made confusion worse confounded by joining on to the supposed  the name  which follows (presumably mistaking the  which determines this king-name for the god Horus and combining this with the succeeding ). He thus evolved Bibit-Sneferu, which he renders 'La Mine-Snofrou', as the Egyptian name of Maghârah, an error followed quite generally by later writers. Thus Bibit and Bibit-Sneferu are mythical. So also is Binikai. It is based on a misreading of the following passage in 141: , meaning 'I came to the mining-district for my lord'. The last few signs, perfectly indisputable on the British Museum squeeze, were read by Weill  translated as a place name 'Binikai' and taken to be the Egyptian name for Serâbit.





Despite the necessity for consigning these two supposed names to oblivion, it is just possible that we have long had in our hands the Egyptian name for Sinai, or for part of it, and have failed to recognize it as such. This was strongly hinted at in *JE* 4, 36. On the stela of a certain Theban official of the XIth Dynasty, Akhtoy by name, we find the following passage (loc. cit., pl. ix): 'I was a treasurer of the god () in making impotent the foreign lands. When I was in the mineral-country () I inspected it, I travelled round the countries of Tjenhet. When I was in the houses of "the northerner", I sealed up his treasures in that mountain of "the-House-of-Horus-of-the-Turquoise-Terraces", [having taken (?)] turquoise thence from the gallery of Per-Shema'. I made trial a second time with another gallery called "the-Gallery-of-M . . . tn (?)", one that had been made for Horus himself.' From the reference to turquoise it is fairly certain that  here refers to Sinai. But is it a specific name for the country? It occurs in several inscriptions at Serâbit (53, 90, 117,




^a So too , Palermo Stone, verso, 4, 1 (= *Urk.* I, 246, 3), as restored by Sethe in BORCHARDT, *Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Sahu-re*, II, 82, n. 4, the earliest trace of this name being perhaps on the tablet of Sanakht (4). See also CLÈRE, *JE* 24 (1938), 125-6.

^b *Sphinx*, 8, 183-4.

^c The form is due to the hieratic, which combines in one sign the  with the  which follows it. The resulting monogram must have originated fairly early, though the oldest hieratic examples are of the XIIth Dynasty (MÖLLER, *Hierat. Pal.* I, no. 578).

Kingdom  (e.g. *Urk.* IV, 5, and often) has become one of the commonest literary designations of Asiatics generally.^a There is no indication that  Retjenu, ever embraced Sinai^b as well as Palestine; the presence of the 'brother of the prince of Retjenu' on certain stelae at Serâbît (85, 87, 92, and 112) is no proof whatsoever.


In the New Kingdom and later turquoise is sometimes said to come from a country called  *Ršwt*.^c Since turquoise was the chief, if not the only, product of Sinai according to the Egyptian inscriptions found there, it does not seem impossible that Roshawet designates Sinai or a part of it, either Wâdy Maghârah or Serâbît el-Khâdim.^d However, in the oldest inscription mentioning Roshawet^e it is not this country that is mentioned as the source of turquoise, but  *Hrrwt*, Herwotet, which is otherwise completely unknown and can equally well lay a claim to being Sinai or a part of Sinai.^f The Great Pap. Harris of the XXth Dynasty refers to Sinai (78, 6) as the 'turquoise-country' : 'I sent forth butlers and magistrates to the turquoise-country to my mother Hathor, mistress of the turquoise'. In the list of foreign products in the Luxor temple,^g turquoise is said to come from  'the mountain of turquoise'. Both *hst mfkst* and *dw mfkst* are perhaps identical with the old *htyw mfkst* of the Sinai inscriptions.

Since the Middle Kingdom^h the word *mfkst* itself in the title of Hathor, 'mistress of the turquoise' and elsewhere is determined by ,ⁱ which seems to indicate that *mfkst* was occasionally interpreted not as the name of a mineral but as that of a country, or by . In all instances of the latter it is probable that the name of the town of  *Mfkt* in the Delta^j is meant.

SECTION 2. FOR WHAT PURPOSE DID THE EGYPTIANS COME TO SINAI?

THE inscriptions leave us in little doubt as to the purpose of the expeditions to Sinai. In almost all those which give anything more than the bare formulae of devotion we find some mention of a mineral substance called *mfkst*, which we provisionally render 'turquoise', a translation which we hope to justify later in this section. The description of the mining district of Maghârah as *htyw mfkst* or *htyw fkt* (nos. 13 and 17) and of Hathor, the presiding genius of the place, as *nbt mfkst* 'mistress of turquoise' or 'of the turquoise country', makes it evident that what the Egyptians chiefly sought there at the period to which our inscriptions refer was turquoise.

One inscription, no. 23, however, explicitly mentions the bringing back of copper as well as

^a The early evidence with regard to *Stt* 'Asia' (or a part of it) is collected by WEILL, *L'Asie dans les textes égyptiens*, in *Sphinx*, 9 (1906), 16-17. It may be recalled that  is also from the earliest times the name of the island of Sehel in the First Cataract (see SETHE, *Zur altägyptischen Sage vom Sonnenauge*, pp. 7-8; GAUTHIER, *Dict. géogr.* v, 94-95; SETHE, *Urgeschichte und älteste Religion der Ägypter*, §204); it has been suggested that the meaning Asia for *Stt* is secondary, but the example from the Royal Tombs seems to disprove this view. See also *Annales du Service*, 44 (1944), 296-8.

^b This possibility has been considered by ČERNÝ, *Archiv Orientální*, 7 (1935), 389, and GARDINER, *Onomastica*, I, 143*.

^c e.g. *Urk.* IV, 373, 2 (Hatshepsut); *Rec. trav.* 19 (1897), 19, 5 and DÜMICHEN, *Hist. Inschr.* I, xxxiii (both of Ramesses III); but especially in the mine and mineral lists at Edfu, Dendera, and Philae of the Ptolemaic and Roman periods. For a good collection of references to *Ršwt* see GAUTHIER, *Dict. géogr.*

III, 127.


^d See GARDINER, *JEA* 32 (1946), 46, n. 13, and long before, DÜMICHEN, *Geschichte des alten Ägyptens* (1878), pp. 173-4.

^e *JEA* 4, pl. ix.

^f The meaning of the name 'The Flowery Land' (derived from *hrrt*, 'flower') would, of course, hardly seem a suitable appellation for Sinai.

^g PORTER-MOSS, II, 102, (25-28) (Ramesses II).

^h The oldest example is our no. 30 (Ammenemes III). Examples in GAUTHIER, *Dict. géogr.* III, 15 and 34.

ⁱ Sinai 30; CHASSINAT-PALANQUE, *Une campagne de fouilles dans la nécropole d'Assiout*, p. 108 (); CHASSINAT, *Mammisi d'Edfu*, p. 47.

^j GAUTHIER, *Dict. géogr.* III, 15, and II, 162. The name is probably only an abbreviation of a fuller form *Pr Hthr-nbt-mfkst*, for which see below, p. 11, n. b.

turquoise, and it will therefore be necessary for us to try to estimate the mineral resources of these Sinaitic valleys and to discuss which of them were tapped by the Egyptians and to what extent. In order adequately to do this we must first take a brief survey of the geological formation of the area in question.^a

The peninsula of Sinai is in the form of a triangle with its apex to the south, and its base formed by the line joining Suez to Akaba. The apex of the triangle consists of a mountain mass which includes Gebel Musa and Gebel Serbâl, two peaks which dispute the right to be identified with the biblical Mount Sinai. Further to the north the interior of the peninsula is occupied by the lofty tableland of Et Tîh, which is in the form of a triangle, and whose base is virtually coincident with that of the peninsula itself. But it is with the country lying between this tableland and the Gulf of Suez that we are more nearly concerned. Geologically this is divided into two regions by an immense fault parallel to the Gulf of Suez which has depressed the coastal region to the west of it to an extent probably amounting in places to 1,320 metres.^b The area between this fault and the sea is thus occupied by formations of comparatively recent date, Cretaceous, Eocene, Miocene, &c. But the country east of the fault is of very different structure. It consists of a series of plateaux of Carboniferous Sandstone. Close beneath the cliffs of the Tîh tableland, the Nubian Sandstone crops out above these, while the sand formed by its denudation extends still farther out over the Carboniferous plateaux and turns them into desert.^c Once clear, however, of the Nubian Sandstone and its detritus the country assumes a more varied character. Different types of rock of the Carboniferous series, to be described later, outcrop at intervals, the plateau is cut up by broad valleys whose bottoms are of granite, and here and there hills of sandstone, sometimes tipped with basalt, lend variety to the landscape.

Stratigraphically the structure of the region is as follows. The lowest exposed strata consist of igneous and metamorphic rocks, such as granite, diorite, and gneiss. These are rarely visible except in the valleys where denudation by water has cut through the thick strata above. On this base rest unconformably the carboniferous strata which are, for convenience, divided into three. At the bottom we have the Lower Carboniferous Sandstone, which is about 130 metres in thickness and consists of various layers differing from one another in composition, but which need not detain us here. At the top of this Lower Sandstone is a purplish-grey band which contains turquoise, and immediately above it a red shale which yields iron and manganese ores. Above these lies a bed of Carboniferous Limestone averaging from 20 to 40 metres in thickness, and containing frequent traces of malachite or carbonate of copper. It must be noticed that this limestone stratum, thickest on the line of the great fault which bounds our region on the west, becomes thinner as we move south and east, and in places even disappears altogether, the iron- and manganese-bearing band of shale then being the only division between the Lower and Upper Sandstones.^d Above the limestone we find the Upper Carboniferous Sandstone with a thickness in places of 200 metres, and above this again is in places a basalt flow which at one time probably covered much if not the whole of the region.

^a See especially BAUERMAN in *Quarterly Journal of the Geological Society*, 25 (1869), 17-38; BALL, *The Geography and Geology of West-Central Sinai*, 1916; MURRAY, 'The Hamâda Country' in *The Cairo Scientific Journal*, vol. 6, no. 74, pp. 264-73; BARRON, *Topography and Geology of the Peninsula of Sinai (Western Portion)*, 1907; BARROIS, 'The Mines of Sinai', in *The Harvard Theological Review*, 25 (1932), 101-20,

shortened from his article in the *Revue biblique*, 39 (1930), pp. 601-21.

^b BARRON, *op. cit.*, pp. 174-6.

^c The so-called Debbet er-Ramla.

^d Strictly speaking this metal-bearing stratum belongs rather to the base of the limestone than to the top of the Lower Sandstone. See BALL, *op. cit.*, pp. 154-6.

Petrie has given some account of the stratification in the Wâdy Maghârah and in the valleys round the Serâbîl el-Khâdim. In the Maghârah valley the ore bed is at a height of about 1,170 feet above sea-level. Below it 170 feet of the Lower Sandstone penetrate to an unknown depth below the bottom of the valley, the granite beneath it being nowhere exposed. Above the ore bed lie 430 feet of the Upper Sandstone, of a lighter colour than the Lower, and above this again lies the basalt flow. The limestone stratum is absent, except in so far as its remains are represented by the ore bed.

In the high cliffs of Serâbîl the iron ore stratum is 2,650 feet above sea-level. The Lower Sandstone is 800 feet thick in places; there appears to be no true limestone stratum, and the thickness of the Upper Sandstone (which Petrie, following Hull, wrongly calls Nubian) is not stated. Gebel Serâbîl itself is capped in three places with basalt.

Apart from the single inscription (23) which mentions copper, D_{11}° , as one of the objects of an expedition we have no proof that the Egyptians ever worked the copper deposits of Sinai on a large scale. That they were worked, however, in early times is certain from evidence which must now be given.^a

In the Wâdy Naşb (see below, p. 30),^b three miles from its junction with the Wâdy Baba', are a well and a garden of palms. Near these lies an immense heap of copper slag, with fragments of earthen twyers among it. Petrie estimates the length of the heap as about 500 feet, its breadth as 300, and its height as from 6 to 8 feet, though Bauerman gave it as 250 by 200 yards. Ball actually obtained a small ingot of copper from the slag, and Petrie notes that a native related the finding in recent times of bars of copper as big as the arm. There are no copper mines in the Wâdy Naşb itself,^c and one must therefore surmise that the ore was brought here for smelting because of the excellent water-supply and the abundance of fuel provided by the acacia trees which doubtless flourished then as they do now in the valley. Unfortunately we have no means of dating these slag heaps. We must remember, however, that not far from this spot, in a narrow pass leading from the Wâdy Naşb into the Wâdy Lihyân to the east of it, was found a rock inscription of the 20th year of Ammenemes III (no. 46). Further, Murray^d relates that between the well of Wâdy Naşb and that of Wâdy Aşu Sôr, which lies south-west of it, was found a much battered stela on which the cartouche of Amenophis III was alone decipherable. It would, however, be unwise to draw any conclusion from these feeble indications.

At the mouth of the Sêh Baba', where it is entered from the plain of El-Markhâ', Petrie found on the south side an area covered with slag heaps.^e 'Among this slag are some pieces which contain a large proportion of copper, by their weight and by the green carbonation on the surfaces; also some smaller pieces appear to be nearly pure metal. This site for smelting was evidently used in order to be near the fuel supply of desert plants, which grow scattered over the wide sea-plain of El-Markhâ'. The furnace stood at the foot of the hill. It is a heap of calcined . . . granite blocks, about 15 feet across and 5 feet high.' No mines were found in the vicinity and there was no indication of date.

At Serâbîl el-Khâdim there are no traces of ancient copper working. Lepsius is responsible for the statement that the Egyptians smelted the metal on the heights of Gebel Serâbîl, having mistaken for copper slag the small outcrops of the ferro-manganese shale bed which occur near the

^a For an excellent summary of the problem of Egyptian copper-mining at Sinai, see A. LUCAS, *Anc. Egn. Mat.*, 3rd ed., pp. 231-5.

^b BALL, op. cit., pp. 13 and 79; MURRAY, op. cit., pp. 268

and 271; P. R., p. 27.

^c MURRAY, op. cit., p. 268.

^d Op. cit., p. 271.

^e P. R., pp. 18-19.

temple site. The great bed of wood ash which underlies a considerable portion of the temple itself would seem to lend colour to Lepsius's hypothesis, but in the complete absence of slag it is necessary to give to these ashes some different interpretation.^a

Holland^b does not believe that 'any traces of copper are to be found either at Wâdy Maghârah or Serâbîṭ el-Khâdim excepting at the latter place a thin film of silicate, too small, however, to extract for any practical purpose'.

The finding in the temple itself of a crucible^c for melting metal can hardly be taken as evidence for copper-mining on any considerable scale. No doubt the copper tools used for mining were often recast on the spot.

At Maghârah, however, there is slightly more tangible evidence.^d In the workmen's houses which lie in the valley itself on a shoal opposite to the mines, and which are dated by their pottery to the Old and Middle Kingdoms, were found 'a great amount of copper slag and waste scraps from smelting, also some chips of copper ore, many broken crucibles, and part of a mould for an ingot'. In another settlement in the valley, dating from the Middle Kingdom, the explorers found 'a great quantity of copper slag, scraps from smelting, pieces of crucibles, charcoal, and, in one case, part of a crucible-charge of crushed ore not yet reduced'.

Despite this the authorities seem to be agreed that copper in workable quantities does not occur in the mines of Maghârah. Holland's judgement has been quoted above and it is supported by that of Bauerman^e and Berthelot.^f

Ball^g mentions copper mines in the Wâdy Kharîṭ (for which see p. 30) and at Gebel Umm Rinna and dates these back to the ancient Egyptians, but he does not say on what evidence. In both these places the mines are cut into the ferromanganese stratum, but as both iron and manganese ore were left untouched it seems clear that the ore sought was malachite, the carbonate of copper. The neglect of the iron and manganese does perhaps indicate an early date.

Murray^h mentions the old workings in the Wâdy Khârig as well as others on the plateau between Wâdy Morinna and Wâdy Malha, and on Gebel Umm Sakran. These, he says, were presumably worked for copper. There is no evidence as to date.

Hollandⁱ tells us that at a short distance from the mouth of the Wâdy Shellâl (a tributary of the Sêḥ Baba'), on its southern side, Major MacDonald discovered a large heap of undoubted copper slag, which still retains a considerable quantity of copper in it. It is possible that this is the slag heap reported by Petrie from the Sêḥ Baba' (see above, p. 5).

Bauerman^j speaks of yet another in the Wâdy Gharandel upon a terrace of Nummulitic or Cretaceous Limestone, far from any place producing copper ore, but near water.

For the sake of completeness we may also mention the slag heaps spoken of by Holland^k as existing in the Wâdy Sened a little north-east of Gebel Musa, and on the coast of the Gulf of Akaba almost opposite to the island of Tîrân. And from Lucas^l we can add to the list of ancient copper-workings the hills west of the Nebk-Sherm plain and the neighbourhood of Wâdy Ramthi, a tributary of Wâdy Naṣb.

^a See pp. 45-49. Also CAMPBELL THOMPSON in *Man*, 1905, nos. 54 and 73; PETRIE, loc. cit., nos. 64 and 104; *P. R.*, pp. 99-102.

^b *Quarterly Journal of Geol. Soc.*, 22, 492.

^c *P. R.*, p. 162.

^d *P. R.*, pp. 51-52, and cf. WEILL, *P.S.*, p. 146 and n. 1.

^e *Quarterly Journal Geol. Soc.*, 25, 34.

^f *Apud DE MORGAN, Recherches sur les origines de l'Égypte*,

p. 225.

^g *Op. cit.*, pp. 188, 190-1.

^h *Op. cit.*, pp. 268, 271.

ⁱ *Quarterly Journal Geol. Soc.*, 22, 492.

^j *Op. cit.*, 25, 30.

^k *Sur.* 1, 224.

^l *Anc. Egn. Mat.*, 3rd ed., p. 234.

In the face of all this evidence it would be idle to attempt to deny that copper was mined and smelted in the Sinai peninsula probably at an early period. At the same time there is not a scrap of evidence for believing that the miners were Egyptians. Had this been the case we should confidently have expected to find in the vicinity of the workings some monumental evidence of these visitors who left such complete records of their enterprise in mining the turquoise.

In the special cases of Maghârah and Serâbî el-Khâdim we may surely speak with special confidence, since it seems quite clear that copper in quantities sufficient to repay working was not to be found there. And Starr^a could state resolutely that 'there is no evidence whatsoever that the Egyptians sought at Serâbî anything other than turquoise'.

Admitting then that the object of the expeditions to these two localities was to obtain not copper but, as the inscriptions abundantly testify, *mfkî*, it only remains to decide the meaning of *mfkî*. But here we find ourselves face to face with one of the longest and most intricate controversies in the history of Egyptian archaeology. It may be shortly summed up as follows.^b

Many years ago Champollion, having observed in a Theban tomb-painting (tomb no. 100 of Rekhmirê) a basket filled with a green mass surmounted by the word *mfkî*, advanced the opinion that *mfkî* was copper^c or copper ore. Lepsius accepted this opinion at the time of his voyage to Sinai in 1845. Twenty years later Brugsch, noting that the inscriptions referring to *mfkî* are all found in the vicinity of turquoise mines, proposed the translation 'turquoise'. Chabas then suggested that the word might have a more general meaning, including all the various green and blue salts of copper found in Sinai, notably turquoise and malachite, a suggestion shortly afterwards adopted by Lepsius. Weill has declared himself in favour of this hypothesis and sums up his beliefs as follows. 'La turquoise n'était pas recherchée comme pierre précieuse, mais pour servir, broyée, à la fabrication des émaux verts et des belles couleurs qu'affectionnaient l'orfèvrerie, l'art industriel et l'art décoratif de l'Égypte; avec la turquoise, on exploitait les substances colorantes à base métallique, l'innombrable variété des sels de fer, de cuivre, de manganèse, de cobalt, dont la teinte varie du bleu au vert et qui se trouvent dans les couches immédiatement voisines.'

This opinion, in variously modified forms, seemed to hold the field among certain Egyptologists; Schiaparelli's statement on the subject, for example, was to the effect that *mfkî* in the broad sense signifies copper, while in a more restricted sense it certainly has a special reference to turquoise.^d

Others, especially Erman^e and the scholars grouped round him,^f held that *mfkî* was malachite as this also occurs in Sinai; nor is the problem settled by the Berlin Dictionary which only says that *mfkî* is a semi-precious stone which we traditionally translate as malachite or turquoise.^g

Beside this there were Egyptologists who adhered to the old view of Brugsch that *mfkî* was turquoise.^h

The question was decided in favour of these last by Lucasⁱ and Loret^j who adduced such

^a *Stud. and Doc.* VI, 20.

^b See WEILL, *Recueil*, pp. 23-25; LORET, *Kémi*, I (1928), 99-114; LUCAS, *Anc. Egn. Mat.*, 3rd ed. (1948), pp. 460-1.

^c CHAMPOLLION, *Notices*, I, 509: 'une grande corbeille pleine de masses vertes . . . (cuivre)'; cf. *Urk.* IV, 1101. Bibliography in PORTER-MOSS, I, 129 (5); adding DAVIES, *The Tomb of Rekh-mi-rê at Thebes*, II, pl. XXI.

^d *La Geografia dell' Africa Orientale*, p. 78, n. 1.

^e *Die Märchen des Papyrus Westcar*, II, 12; *Sitzungsberichte der Kgl. Preuß. Akademie der Wissenschaften, phil.-hist. Cl.*, 1907, pp. 406-7; *Die Literatur der Ägypter*, p. 68.

^f e.g. SCHÄFER, *Die Mysterien des Osiris in Abydos*, p. 18; GRAPOW, *Die bildlichen Ausdrücke des Ägyptischen*, pp. 54-55; BREASTED, *Ancient Records*, v (index), 143.

^g *Wb.* II, 56; in all the derivatives on p. 57 *mfkî* is interpreted as malachite.

^h JÉQUIER, *Les frises d'objets*, Index, p. 349; BLACKMAN, *JEA* 11, 212; GARDINER, *Gr.* (1st ed.), p. 543.

ⁱ *Anc. Egn. Mat.*, 1st ed. (1926), pp. 168-70 = 3rd ed. (1948), pp. 460-1.

^j *Kémi*, I (1928), 99 ff.

reasons for the identity of *mfkꜣt* and turquoise as to make its probability a practical certainty. We shall incorporate their arguments in the following discussion.

The questions we have to ask ourselves are:

1. Did the Egyptians include under the term *mfkꜣt* any other green or blue mineral substances besides turquoise?
2. Was the turquoise itself prized as a gem, or only for the sake of the green pigments and glazes made from it?

It should be noted that the possibility that any of the copper salts of Serâbîṭ and Maghârah were used for the extraction of metallic copper seems to be ruled out by the geological evidence given above.

These two questions are so closely connected that we may deal with them together. The data on which they must be decided are of three kinds—geological, archaeological, and literary. We shall deal with these separately.

Geological evidence

The only green or blue-green minerals noticed by explorers at Serâbîṭ and Maghârah seem to be malachite (hydrated carbonate of copper), silicate of copper, and turquoise, this last being a hydrated phosphate of aluminium coloured by small quantities of oxide of copper. That the turquoises have some value as gems is clear from the fact that many of the old mines are still worked by natives and others, and the gems placed on the world's markets. Thus there are modern mines in Wâdy Sidrah and its tributaries Wâdy Iḳnâ' and Ḳunayyah (the old Maghârah), in Wâdy Sahu and in its tributary Wâdy Umm Ḥamda, in Wâdy Baba' and its tributaries, Wâdy Naṣb, Wâdy Abu Sôr, Wâdy Abu Ḥamât and Wâdy Suwwuk, and finally at Serâbîṭ el-Khâdim. The modern market for the Sinai gems is at Suez,^a and the value of the industry was 250,000 francs per annum after the First World War.

At the same time authorities are agreed that the turquoises are of very unequal merit and that many, if not all of them, readily lose their colour and even disintegrate on exposure to the air and sun. It was precisely this tendency to rapid deterioration which caused the financial ruin of Major MacDonald, who, enticed by the hope of rapidly acquiring wealth, settled at Maghârah and remained there from 1855 to 1865.

This tendency to disintegrate naturally lends support to the supposition that the Egyptians used the turquoise partly, if not wholly, for the production of pigments and glazes, the former being employed in Egypt, be it remembered, mainly in temples and tombs where light was either absent or scanty. As Mr. Ball pointed out in a letter, the matter can easily be tested by examining specimens of Egyptian paint for the presence of phosphoric acid which would prove the use of turquoise in its composition, as opposed to malachite or other copper salts. He has been unable to find any instance of the detection of this acid in the published analyses of paints of ancient Egypt, and we ourselves have not seen a single case of it. In any case it seems clearly established that the usual Egyptian blue colour used for glazing was obtained from either malachite or metallic copper.^b

We may therefore sum up the geological evidence by saying that it contributes nothing towards

^a BALL, *West-Central Sinai*, p. 267. (Ball's book has not as many as 267 pages; I am unable to trace the true source of Peet's information. The existence of the turquoise industry

and trade is confirmed by THOMAS, *The Cairo Scientific Journal*, 6, 59.)

^b LUCAS, *Anc. Egn. Mat.*, 3rd ed., pp. 392-5.

the solution of question 1, while in regard to question 2 it makes it probable that the turquoise was mined as a gem but affords no proof that it was also used to manufacture pigment or glazes.

Archaeological evidence

If the turquoise was mined as a gem and played the considerable part in Egyptian life which the Sinai inscriptions would lead us to suppose, we should expect to find turquoises in considerable quantity in the tombs. And it is true that turquoises do occur in Egyptian burials, even in pre-dynastic times.^a Some of the substances described by their finders as turquoise have on examination by Vernier, the great expert on Egyptian jewellery, been found to be not natural turquoise but an artificial material closely resembling the original in appearance. Thus in his *Bijoux et Orfèvreries*,^b we read on page 1 that in the famous Dahshûr pectorals of the XIIth Dynasty the turquoise is possibly artificial. On page 14 the same is said in regard to the Ist-Dynasty bracelet from the tomb of King Djer at Abydos, and on page 10 Vernier expresses himself as doubting the nature of most Egyptian 'turquoise'. Elsewhere^c he states that both in the Ist- and the XIIth-Dynasty jewellery the supposed turquoise consists of coloured glass, devoid of any glazing base, and of a more permanent character than the natural gem. This suggests the conclusion that the Egyptians had at an early period discovered the defects of the Sinaitic turquoises and remedied this by the fabrication of imitations in glass, coloured presumably with the original substance. But Lucas, whose competence in determining the nature of stones cannot be questioned, definitely states against Vernier that the material in the Abydos bracelet and in the Dahshûr jewellery is turquoise and not glass.^d And these cases suggest that Vernier's doubts as to the nature of Egyptian turquoise in general are equally unjustified.

Literary evidence

References to *mfkꜣt* in Egyptian literature are extremely common. It is most frequently mentioned in lists of precious substances in conjunction with *ḥsbꜣ* (lapis lazuli); in fact the conventional Egyptian list of treasure may be said to run 'Silver, gold, lapis lazuli, *mfkꜣt* and all kinds of precious stone'. In five Sinai inscriptions lapis and *mfkꜣt* occur together. In 105 the two names are found in a list of products in a damaged context, and in 102 Hathor is called '*lady of the turquoise (mfkꜣt)*' and '*lady of lapis lazuli*.' In 182 we read (restoring the damaged portion from 200 which is closely similar), '*They brought away every good product of this land, turquoise in great quantity, lapis lazuli of Asia (Stt), šsmt-stone, nšmt-stone, copper (?) - - - - -*.' In 200 the doubtful copper is replaced by the minerals *ḥtm* and *irtyw*, and in 411 the sequence is '*mfkꜣt, lapis lazuli, tfrt, mnwr and ir - -*.' As the lapis is specifically mentioned as Asiatic we may doubt whether all these products came from Sinai, and indeed we may suspect that the lists are both conventional and exaggerated. In any case we can infer from the above references no more than that *mfkꜣt* was a valuable mineral product.

The earliest references outside Sinai occur in the Pyramid Texts. In 936c the 'Field of *mfkꜣt*' seems to be a locality in which the dead king is to live along with the gods, and there is apparently a parallel between this place and the much more usual 'Field of Iaru'. In a similar passage, 1784e, the 'Gardens (≡≡) of *mfkꜣt*' are mentioned beside the more common 'Fields of Rest' (*šhwt ḥtp*). Finally, in the obscure context of 567, *mfkꜣt* and *šsmt* occur together and there is apparently a

^a PETRIE, *Diospolis Parva*, p. 27; *Naqada and Ballas*, p. 44.

^b CCG.

B 3488

^c BIFAO 12, 37.

^d LUCAS, *Anc. Egn. Mat.*, pp. 212, 460-1.

reference to their green colour. These passages, therefore, do not help us much in our attempt to determine the nature of *mfkꜣt*.

Later tomb and temple representations, however, take us further. Among the gifts dedicated to Amun by Tuthmosis III and shown on the north wall of the Karnak temple are a number of very large oval lumps of a green colour labelled *mfkꜣt* and the same name is given to other large lumps of a round shape.^a Similarly in the tomb of Rekhmirē at Thebes we find a representation of a basket containing a mass of green material over which is written *mfkꜣt*.^b From these scenes we gather that *mfkꜣt* was a green stone of round or oval form.

Evidence is not lacking as to its uses. For example, it served as material for amulets in the form of 𓏏 , Cairo sarcophagus Cat. 28024 (LACAU, *Sarcophages*, p. 59); bead necklaces *mnit*, Cairo sarc. 28023 (LACAU, loc. cit., p. 46); *Urk.* IV, 22; necklaces, Cairo sarc. 28091 (LACAU, loc. cit., p. 43), Cairo stela 20539, II, b, 8. In the Great Harris Papyrus we read of scarabs^c and rings^d of *mfkꜣt*, udjat-amulets of fine gold with inlay of real lapis and real *mfkꜣt*,^e and statues of the Nile god of copper, lead, real lapis, real *mfkꜣt*, and every costly stone,^f or of real *mfkꜣt* alone.^g It was Lucas who pointed out that this frequent occurrence of *mfkꜣt* can only be appropriate to turquoise which was known and often used by the Egyptians from the prehistoric period onwards.^h Malachite, on the contrary, is only very rarely found in the form of objects or as inlay in jewels, though it is quite common at all periods in powdered form as an eye-paint.ⁱ If *mfkꜣt* meant malachite, as used to be thought, it seems strange that so few malachite objects have been found and that there should be no mention at all in the Egyptian texts of the frequently recurring turquoise.

The references in the Harris Papyrus and elsewhere to real *mfkꜣt* are valuable to us, for it will hardly be disputed that the epithet 'real' implies that false or artificial *mfkꜣt* also existed. It is difficult to avoid the conclusion that real *mfkꜣt* stood for the turquoise in its natural state, while false *mfkꜣt* was used of the turquoise-coloured glass. Similarly real lapis refers to lapis in its natural condition, while false lapis covers the various types of lapis-coloured compositions (glazes and pastes) which were found in the Egyptian tombs quite as frequently as true lapis.

There is another passage in Egyptian literature which bears on the nature of *mfkꜣt*, to which our attention has been drawn by B. Gunn. In the story of the Westcar Papyrus, where the king is being rowed on a lake by a crew of maidens, one of the rowers accidentally drops her fish pendant^j into the water. The pendant is said to be of 'new turquoise' (*mfkꜣt mꜣt*).^k Here the very obvious emendation *mfkꜣt mꜣt* 'real turquoise' has been proposed, since the epithet 'new' as applied to a gem has seemed to editors unmeaning. Now on the principle of *lectio difficilior mꜣt* is certain to have been the original reading,^l and with our knowledge of the nature of Sinaitic turquoise we at once see the obvious explanation of the passage. The gem was a natural one and its value, on which the girl insists so strongly, was due to the fact that it was new and had not yet lost any of its colour or lustre.

Loret discovered independently^m that this passage of Pap. Westcar is a strong proof for the identity of *mfkꜣt* and turquoise, and added a no less brilliant interpretation of Harwerrē's stela from Serābīt (90) which clinches the matter completely. Once the word *imn* there is correctly

^a *Urk.* IV, 638.

^b *Urk.* IV, 1101; see above, p. 7, n. c.

^c 15b, 2; 33a, 13; 52b, 6. 8; 70a, 10.

^d 64a, 15.

^e 26, 5.

^f 73, 13.

^g 40b, 10.

^h LUCAS, *Anc. Egn. Mat.*, p. 461; LORET, *Kēmi*, I, 106.

ⁱ LUCAS, loc. cit., p. 456.

^j On the nature of the object see BLACKMAN, *JEA* 11 (1925), 212-13.

^k Pap. Westcar 6, 2-3 and 6, 5-6.

^l There are now further examples known of 'new *mfkꜣt*', see *Wb.* II, 56, 6.

^m *Kēmi*, I, 109.

translated as 'colour' there can be no doubt whatsoever that the *mfkṯt*, the stone of unstable colour, can only be turquoise.^a

As far as the form of the word for 'turquoise' is concerned the fact that it is written with or without the initial consonant *m* shows that this *m* is the prefix which in the early Egyptian and in Semitic languages serves to form from verbal roots nouns designating places or instruments.^b No root *fkṯ* is, however, known in Egyptian which could have possibly served as a basis for *mfkṯt*.

We may sum up the whole of the evidence—geological, archaeological, and literary—as follows. The Egyptians certainly obtained part, though probably not the whole, of their supply of turquoises from Sinai, and these were used as gems in their natural state. None of the analyses of the pigments used by the Egyptians in painting have as yet revealed the presence of powdered turquoise. There is no reason for thinking that any other blue or green minerals other than turquoise were included in the term *mfkṯt*.

SECTION 3. ROUTE FOLLOWED BY THE EGYPTIANS
















WHAT route did the Egyptians follow in their expeditions to Sinai? Three possible routes lay open to them. Firstly, the land route, which would involve skirting the north and east coasts of the Gulf of Suez. Secondly, the water route, down the river, through the canal in the Wādy Tumilāt, and down the Gulf of Suez. Thirdly, a combination of land and water route; here the method would be to strike direct across the eastern desert along one of the old caravan routes to the Red Sea and from there to take ship to the coast of Sinai. These three routes may all have been followed on different occasions and at different periods. To the modern traveller the first would appeal most strongly, for, as Cairo or Alexandria is likely to be his starting-point, he can proceed as far as Suez by rail, whence he has only to cross the canal to find himself in the peninsula of Sinai. As, however, the Gulf of Suez almost certainly extended much farther north in Egyptian times than it does today it is likely that the Egyptians, instead of cutting across the desert from Memphis to Suez, left Egypt by the Wādy Tumilāt, which brought them to what was then the head of the gulf, somewhere near Ismailiya. From there they doubtless followed the east coast of the Gulf of Suez as far as the plain of El-Markhā', from whence access to the mining district can be obtained by turning up either the Sēḥ Baba' or the Sēḥ Sidrah. It may be suggested that even when the land route was chosen part at least of the transport was sent by sea down the gulf, to be landed on the shore of the plain of El-Markhā'. We have no means of deciding the point, but it is perhaps unlikely that when the expedition had come so far by land it should be broken up for the sake of accomplishing the last and shortest portion by water in a gulf subject to sudden storms and with a very inhospitable shore on the Sinai side. It was in connexion with this land transport that the donkeys and their peasant drivers mentioned in Middle Kingdom inscriptions were employed. In 110 W. and 137 W. we have 500 donkeys; in 100 W. there are 600; in 114, 284, while in 112 200 donkeys are mentioned and in 412 only 50; in 85 W., 106 S. and 120 N. 30 peasants are mentioned, in 137 W. we read of 43 and in 114 of 20 (see also below, p. 18).

At the same time the frequent naval titles in the earlier inscriptions make it fairly certain that

^a See the commentary of 90.

^b GRAPOW, *Über die Wortbildungen mit einem Präfix m- im Ägyptischen* (Abhandl. der Preuß. Ak. d. Wiss., 1914), pp. 8, 9, 11, 24. The word is thought to have been borrowed by Hebrew as *nōpek* and *pūk*, see LAMBDIN, *Journal of the*

American Oriental Society, 73, 152, who also communicates Albright's view that the seventh-century Assyrian transcription of the town-name *Pr-Hthr-nbt-mfkṯt* ('House of Hathor, lady of the turquoise') as Pihattiḥurunpiki points to a vocalization **nḥēke* at that time.

water transport was used, at any rate in earlier days. Thus in the Vth and VIth Dynasties we find the title  (17), combined in one case (16) with  and in other cases (13 and 16) with . Similarly the title  'commander of recruits' is probably only a shortened form of   'commander of a crew of recruits', and although the word *pr* need not necessarily refer to the crews of ships the title     'overseer of the ships' crews' (47), makes it probable that this is the case here. Another title connected with shipping,  'overseer of transports', comes down as far as the Middle Kingdom (48, 77, and 92). On another title  (85),  (412), or  (120 N.), we ought not, perhaps, to insist, for it may be merely an equivalent of  (106), 'ferryman', rather than 'sailor' in general; the presence of ferrymen with an expedition would not necessarily mean anything more than that water had to be crossed at some point.

In the face of these nautical titles we can hardly avoid the conclusion that up to the XIIth Dynasty at all events water transport played a part in the Sinai expeditions. There would seem to be two possibilities. Either the expedition crossed to Sinai from some point on the Red Sea coast, probably Kossêr, or else there was a through waterway from Egypt to the Gulf of Suez.^a In the first alternative there is no inherent improbability, for we know that Pepinakht in the VIth Dynasty was sent to bring back the body of a certain Anankhte who had been slain by the Asiatic Bedawin while building a boat for Punt.^b The scene of this event must have been some point on the Red Sea or Gulf of Suez coast, and it is clear that at this time there was no through waterway from the Nile to the Gulf of Suez, but that Egyptian expeditions to Punt were forced to start overland and embark at some point on the coast. It is not improbable that expeditions to Sinai followed the same route. This route was quite natural during the Old Kingdom when the capital (Memphis) was situated almost exactly in the same latitude as the present Suez.^c

The question of a continuous waterway from the Nile to the Red Sea is a more difficult one. From the moment when such a route came into existence it would naturally be followed by most if not all expeditions to Sinai, but the question as to when this happened is far from being decided. It seems fairly clear that in Egyptian times the Gulf of Suez penetrated the isthmus as far north as Heroonpolis, and in order to connect the Red Sea with the Nile all that was needed was a canal along the Wâdy Tumilât to join the old eastern or Pelusiac arm of the Nile. Such a canal undoubtedly existed in ancient times. But how ancient? Some writers^d take it for granted that it was dug as early as the Middle Kingdom, a belief for which there appears to be no evidence except the tradition recorded by Greek writers attributing to Sesostriis (Senwosret) a project for connecting by water the Mediterranean and the Red Sea.^e On the other hand, there is one definite piece of evidence which proves that it was not built at the beginning of the XIIth Dynasty, for Sinuhe, during a flight along the Wâdy Tumilât, complains of having suffered from thirst. This lack of water would have been impossible had the Wâdy then contained a canal.^f

Even in the XVIIIth Dynasty we are still without proof on this point, for there is no evidence whatever for believing that Hatshepsut's ships sailed direct from Punt to Thebes. All that the scenes and inscriptions tell us is that the products of Punt left there in ships and that they arrived

^a For the question of this waterway see the excellent article by POSENER, *Le canal du Nil à la Mer Rouge avant les Ptolémées* in *Chronique d'Égypte*, no. 26 (July 1938), 259-73. Posener's very critical examination results, as far as Egyptian voyages to Sinai are concerned, in conclusions which are in entire agreement with our own.

^b *Urk.* I, 134.



^c See also POSENER, loc. cit., p. 265.

^d e.g. BREASTED, *History of Egypt*, p. 276.

^e SETHE, *Sesostriis*, pp. 22-23.

^f POSENER (loc. cit., pp. 268-9) after having weighed very carefully all the reasons for and against the existence of a communication by water between the Nile and the Red Sea in the Middle Kingdom prefers to leave the question in suspense.

at Thebes in ships of similar appearance. That there was no transshipment or land transport on the way is the merest conjecture.^a In fact we have no authority for supposing this expedition to have taken a different route from that adopted by Ramesses III's expedition related in the Great Harris Papyrus,^b which went by land from Koptos to Kossêr and on by sea to Punt.^c Unfortunately, the record of a Sinaitic expedition in the same papyrus^d does not give any hint as to the way taken.

Thus we are left in complete ignorance which, unfortunately, the Sinai inscriptions themselves do nothing to dispel. One single passage in **25** seems to refer to the crossing of water but in such general terms that it is of little help. A certain Harnakht there says , '*I crossed the ocean bearing treasure on the errand of the lord of the palace*'. Apart from this there is no reference to water except perhaps in the obscure title of Simont (**196**) . The very badly damaged and ill-copied text **211** certainly relates an expedition to Punt as well as one to Sinai, but in the present state of the inscription it is impossible to disentangle the relation of the two expeditions to one another or to state that they formed part of one and the same journey.

We must confess, therefore, that the results of our inquiry are almost completely negative. That a water route was employed, at least on occasions, up to the time of the Middle Kingdom may be said to be beyond doubt, but what that route was is uncertain. Was it a sea voyage from Kossêr or some other Red Sea port to the Sinai coâst?^e Was it a coasting voyage from the top of the Gulf of Suez only? Or do the references to water and the naval titles prove nothing more than transport on the Nile itself? Was transport by water and land (by means of asses) combined as in Ramesses III's expedition to Atika^f in search of copper? It is impossible to answer any of these questions.

While we are still unable to say which was the exact route the Egyptians used to take to penetrate from the coast into the interior of the peninsula, presumably from the plain of El-Markhâ', we are now able to tell which of the numerous valleys and paths they chose to reach the top of the plateau of Serâbîl el-Khâdim. The E.E.F. expedition looked in vain for such an access but neglected a little valley called Rôd el-'Aîr and it was precisely in this valley that the joint Harvard and Washington Catholic Universities discovered in 1930 a number of Egyptian graffiti (501-27) mostly of Middle Kingdom date.^g There is no doubt now that the Egyptians passed here. Rôd el-'Aîr branches off Wâdy Umm Themâim which itself is a tributary of Wâdy Ba'lah. A narrow path leads up the valley over a cascade which is impassable for donkeys now but was evidently not so difficult in antiquity. The graffiti are about half-way up Rôd el-'Aîr just below the cascade on a rock wall on the right side of the path. The rock wall faces north and is in shade all day till the late afternoon, so that the spot was eminently suitable for a resting-place before the upward climb.^h The valley ends high up on the plateau near the place called by Petrie 'Camp of the Egyptians', and running in the direction east-west lies on the shortest line connecting Serâbîl el-Khâdim with the coast.

^a Cf. POSENER, loc. cit., p. 270.

^b 77, 8 ff.

^c The same route was followed by Sankhkerē's expedition. See COUYAT-MONTET, no. 114.

^d 78, 6 ff.

* The University of California African Expedition claims to have found in 1948 a small Egyptian seaport in the plain of El-Markhâ, south of Abu Zenima. Though almost completely destroyed by wind action the port could be dated by pottery to about the reign of Hatshepsut and Tuthmosis III. Nothing seems to have so far been published on the excavations.

tion except a short note by W. PHILLIPS in *Science*, vol. 107, p. 669.

^f Pap. Harris, 78, 1 ff.

⁸ BARROIS, *The Harvard Theological Review*, 25 (1932), 109-10; SILVA NEW, *ibid.*, pp. 127-9.

¹ The name Rôd el-'Aîr, 'Valley of (wild) Donkeys', could not take its origin from the pictures engraved there, as Barrois suggests, for donkeys are not found among the graffiti. Presumably it is so called because wild donkeys could climb it and were seen doing so.




SECTION 4. DETAILS OF STAFF









THE composition of the Sinai expeditions varied so much from one period to another that any attempt to deal with the subject generally could only end in confusion. It will therefore be necessary to consider separately three periods, the Old Kingdom, the Middle Kingdom, and the New Empire.




A. *The Old Kingdom*

Previous to the VIth Dynasty the records left by the Egyptians in Sinai were of a purely royal nature, and there was no place on them for the names or titles of even the leaders of the expeditions. The only exceptions are the two earliest rock tablets, those of Smerkhet (1) and Netjerket (2). By the side of the first the 'royal son' has represented himself under the title of *imy-r mšr* 'commander of the expedition', while in that of Netjerket a man whose titles are mostly illegible appears in the same role. It is not unlikely that in the second case, as in the first, the man represented was of royal blood and therefore might venture to depict himself along with his royal father.



The inscriptions of the VIth Dynasty, especially 13, 16, and 17, give us fairly complete lists of the more important members of the expeditions, but it should be remembered that no attempt was made to record the names and titles of the humbler members, as was so often done in later times, and that for this reason we must draw no inferences from the absence of titles unless these be of high rank.

We will deal first with the question of leadership. In 13 the expedition is stated to have been sent 'with', i.e. under the command of the admiral of the fleet , and a list of other officials with him is added. In 16 we find that the royal commission is executed by the  'commander of the expedition' Merirēt-onkh, son of a certain Ibdu, who bears the same title. Then follows a list of names many of which have naval titles. In 17 the expedition is commanded for the first time by a 'god's treasurer' , the official who later, under the XIIth Dynasty, seems invariably to have been in charge of the Sinaitic expeditions (see p. 15).

When we come to the titles of subordinate officials the most striking fact is that a large proportion of them are naval. Thus we find the various groups of titles including *imy irty* (, , , which may perhaps be translated 'pilot' or 'pilot of the fleet', the 'ship's lieutenant' (, and the 'commander of recruits' or 'of a crew of recruits' (, , and finally the , a title which is in all known cases except one used in conjunction with *imy irty*, and may have some connexion with the sea.^a It is worthy of note that none of these titles is found in Sinai at a later date with the exception of , which is a minor title of the 'god's treasurer'^b in 86, 113, and 141.

Next to the naval officials may be mentioned those of the interpreting department, which was of such importance that it probably almost supplied the place of our foreign office; its duties certainly extended far beyond the mere translation of foreign languages. In each of the three full lists, 13, 16, and 17, this department is represented by an 'overseer of interpreters' , while in 13 and 17 we find further a 'second-in-charge of interpreters' , and in 18 there is a 'controller of interpreters' .

^a See *JEA* 4, 34, n. 9, but see also note d on 16.

^b That the  who was responsible for the obtaining and transport of valuables and construction material of all kinds was *ipso facto* in charge of the levies of  used for this pur-

pose is clear from *Urk.* 1, 99.

^c For a full discussion of the word for 'interpreter' see GARDINER, *PSBA* 37, 117-25; 39, 133-4, and PEET, *ibid.*, 37, 224.

In order that proper records and accounts should be kept it was necessary that the expedition should be accompanied by scribes. Accordingly we find several grades of these, whose titles, as often in the Old Kingdom, are generally preceded by the honorary (?) title *ḥm*. In 16 and 17 there is an 'overseer of scribes' *ḥm* *ḥm*, as well as ordinary 'scribes' *ḥm*, and in 13 we find a 'scribe of copper' *ḥm* *ḥm*. In connexion with this last scribe mention should be made of a 'controller of copper' *ḥm* *ḥm* (13).

Of two important administrative (?) titles which occur here, 'overseer of officials' *ḥm* *ḥm* and 'controller of officials' *ḥm* *ḥm*, we unfortunately know so little as to be unable to predicate their functions. Neither title occurs in Sinai after the Old Kingdom.

The title 'overseer of 10', which is found in a graffito added to 16 by some of the humbler members of the expedition, may refer to the foremen of gangs of ten workmen known to us from later inscriptions such as 85 and 105.

The only inscription in which the numbers of the expedition are given is 19, in which, in a damaged context, we find the figure 1,400.

B. The Middle Kingdom

In no other period are such full records given of the composition of the expeditions. The purely royal monuments of the Old Kingdom are replaced by stelae and tablets still royal in theory but, in practice, serving much more to glorify the leaders and more important members of the force, and in some cases not even disdaining to record the names and titles of ordinary workmen. Unfortunately the total numbers are only twice given to us; in no. 23, of the reign of Ammenemes III, where we find after the inscription mentioning the leader of the expedition 'number of his force (mšc-f) 734', and in 114 S. (same reign) where the 'list of the force (mšc)' is summarized as 'total 209'. In other cases the numbers of particular kinds of workmen who were taken are recorded, from which we can draw rough inferences as to the numbers of the whole.

In dealing with the more important officers it must always be remembered that some of the titles which they bear, even when not purely honorific, have no relation to the functions for which they were selected to accompany the Sinai expeditions. It is necessary to bear this constantly in mind in attempting to deduce, from the titles which occur on the monuments, the composition of the forces sent to Sinai; otherwise we shall merely aggravate the already serious difficulties caused by our comparative ignorance of the duties actually involved in many of the best-known Egyptian titles.

In the Middle Kingdom the expedition is almost invariably under the direction of the *sdwty ntr*, the 'divine chancellor' or 'god's treasurer'. Whether the god in this title is really a deity or simply stands for the king, the 'great god' as he is frequently called in early times (e.g. 5 and 7), or the 'good god' as in later days, is immaterial to us here. It is clear that he was the official responsible for supplying the royal Treasury with treasure of every kind, from whatever source. Thus he frequently bears the further title of *imy-r ḥnwty wr n pr-ḥd*, 'chief intendant of the Treasury', or, with the omission of *wr*, 'intendant of the Treasury'. The simple title *imy-r ḥnwty*, 'intendant' is probably merely a contraction for one of these longer titles, since Sebekḥerḥab who in 107 is merely *imy-r ḥnwty* is described in 53, which dates from the same year, as *imy-r ḥnwty n pr-ḥd*. One divine chancellor, Ameny-Seshenen (in 93, 98, and 402), bears the further title of *idnw n imy-r pr wr*, 'deputy of the chief steward', but we have no evidence by which we can determine the relation to each other of the chancellor and the great steward. Nor are we more fortunate with regard to another official,

the *imy-r sḏwt*, 'overseer of treasure'. This title occurs twice in the Middle Kingdom (83 and 106). In the case of 83 it is held by a man who is also *sḏwt bity*. Probably the duties of the overseer of treasure consisted mainly in housing and guarding the precious things delivered into the Treasury by the divine chancellor; if this be the case we should hardly expect to find him prominent in Sinai though, as we shall see shortly, his representatives were frequently there.

As in the Old Kingdom, the divine chancellor is still responsible for the transport of the treasure, and consequently we find that he not uncommonly bears the titles *hrp nfrw*, 'commander of recruits' (113 and 141), and *imy-r ḥrw*, 'overseer of transport-ships' (47 and 48).

Another important title occasionally borne by the chancellor is that of *imy-r tꜣ-mḥw*, 'governor of Lower Egypt' (26, 56, 72, 105, 112, 114, and 115). This combination of offices may indicate that Sinai was considered as more closely attached to Lower than to Upper Egypt, and in this case it would perhaps be legitimate to infer that the earliest expeditions thither had proceeded by land from the Delta, rather than by the Red Sea route from Kossêr. For the sake of completeness it may be added here that this title is only twice (71 and 85) borne by officials who are not definitely stated to be divine chancellors.

In contradistinction to the divine chancellor the *sḏwt bity*, 'chancellor of the king of Lower Egypt', is but rarely mentioned at Sinai, and it is not impossible that the title, even if it carried duties, had ceased to have any real connexion with the Treasury as early as the XIIth Dynasty. In 83, however, we find an official bearing this title who is also 'overseer of treasure', *imy-r sḏwt*. The same stela also mentions a divine chancellor, over whom, if any significance can be attached to the arrangement of the stela, the 'overseer of treasure' would seem to take precedence. In 120 (Ammenemes IV) the title occurs in the familiar combination *iry-pt ḥty-r sḏwt bity smr wty*, and all the later examples occur in the same grouping.

The Treasury was also represented by minor officials. We find frequent mention of a *sḏwt hry-r n imy-r sḏwt*, 'assistant treasurer of the overseer of treasure', more rarely *idnw n imy-r sḏwt*, 'deputy of the overseer of treasure'. In the same connexion must be mentioned the *iry-ct n pr-hḏ*, 'petty official of the Treasury'.

The prominent position occupied by these Treasury officials in the inscriptions of Sinai is easily explained. Turquoise was the monopoly of the king and formed part of the royal treasure. Therefore the officials ultimately responsible for the expeditions were the higher officials of the Treasury Department. There can be no doubt that under the XIIth Dynasty the whole expedition was under the command of the divine chancellor.

It might be expected that some emphasis would have been laid on the military side of these expeditions. This, oddly enough, does not seem to have been the case, and there is no certain evidence whatsoever for believing that any special force of soldiers was sent to protect the workers. The contrary belief which seems to have found its way into several textbooks is due to the mis-translation of the word *mšr* as 'soldiers', whereas, even when determined by the soldier sign, it may mean and often does mean nothing more than 'member of an expedition'.^a Thus the famous inscription no. 23 of Ammenemes III does not, as is often averred, mention 734 soldiers; it merely states that the personnel of the expedition numbered 734. The consequence is curious. We must suppose either that the military detachment occupied so subordinate a place in the expedition as never to be referred to in the inscriptions, which, in view of the fact that even the humblest quarry-

^a There is good proof of this, if indeed proof of so obvious (mšr) which came to Sinai' begins with the item '200 stone cutters'. a fact be needed, in no. 117 E., where a 'list of the expedition

man occasionally contrived to squeeze his name into the record, is very improbable, or else that under the XIIth Dynasty there was no military detachment, and that the risk of attack in Sinai was so small that the civilian members of the force, doubtless not unarmed, could be relied on to protect themselves. This throws an astonishing light on the prestige of the Egyptians in the peninsula at this period. In earlier times no doubt the expeditions were of a semi-military character, and indeed it is quite possible that in our two earliest inscriptions, those of Smerkheth and Netjerkheth, the title *imy-r mšc* ought to be translated not 'commander of the expedition' but rather 'commander of the army'. It might at first sight appear that the same should apply in the case of several of the later occurrences of the title, for, in expeditions such as those recorded on 56, 85, 105, 112, and 117, the whole was clearly under the command of a divine chancellor and the *imy-r mšc* mentioned in each case can only have been in charge of some portion of the personnel, and therefore the title cannot be translated 'commander of the expedition'. But to suppose that the persons under the charge of this official were soldiers is the purest assumption, and we have a clear warning against accepting it in the title *imy-r mšc n hrtyw-ntr*, 'commander of the force of stone cutters' (90 W.). In 105 there appear quite low down in a list of persons, below the various petty officials, no fewer than ten *imyw-r mšc*. It is incredible that ten army commanders accompanied one expedition, and it is far more probable that during the Middle Kingdom these officials were nothing more than overseers of gangs of workmen. One *imy-r mšc* occurs among petty officials in 405 NE. and 114 W.

No other military title, if indeed this be one, is mentioned in the inscriptions of the Middle Kingdom in Sinai.

The Department of Interpreters was doubtless represented on all expeditions now as formerly. No less than twelve inscriptions record the presence of an interpreter, written with slightly varying forms of the old sign \square . The usual number appears to have been two (85, 92, 100, and 112). The *imy-r cw*, 'overseer of interpreters', occurs in the graffito 511 with his four sons, all termed 'interpreter', but it is not certain whether they accompanied their father on the expedition.

The bulk of the actual manual labourers seems to have consisted of the workers known as *hrtyw-ntr*, 'stone cutters'. That all these were drawn in the Middle Kingdom from the workers in the royal necropolis is more than we ought to infer, but we may be certain that these 'stone cutters' were men who were accustomed to tunnelling in rock. In two cases (106 and 117) they number 200. In 85 the workmen, doubtless all *hrtyw-ntr*,^a though this is not expressly stated, are divided into gangs of ten, and one of each ten bears the title *imy-r sz*, 'foreman'. The same title occurs, e.g. in 112, 136, 137, 143, 405, and 412, and is well known from other sources.

A somewhat puzzling title, clearly connected with the necropolis workers, is that of 𓆎 (reading uncertain). It is once found in the phrase $\text{𓆎} n hrtyw-ntr$, and it also occurs in combination with *hry-pr*, 'domestic'.

In three inscriptions we find $\text{𓆎} ikwyw$, who are undoubtedly quarrymen of some kind, though their work was perhaps more specialized than that of the necropolis workers. In 106 three of these are mentioned as against 200 necropolis workers, in 114 eight as against eighty.

Among the other skilled workmen may be placed the *whrw*, 'stone-workers' (85 and 106 two each, also 137 and perhaps 105 and 112), the 𓆎 , 'stone carvers' (90, 106, &c.), and the 𓆎 , who, as is evident from a Hammâmât inscription,^b dealt with some kind of work in precious stone.

^a The statement, P. R., p. 117, that these men were all 'foremen miners' is based on a misinterpretation of 85 W., right column, line 2.

^b COUYAT-MONTET, p. 47, no. 40. See the commentary on 100.

Mdhw (two in 114 S. and three in 413 S.) are usually 'carpenters', but work sometimes in stone as well.^a

In addition to these we find *hmtyw*, 'copper-workers', three of whom are mentioned in 106 S., three in 413 S., and possibly two in 85 N., and a *gnwty*, 'sculptor', in 85. The former were doubtless responsible for keeping the metal tools of the workers in order, and the latter for the recording of the expedition on the stela.

Turning next to the personnel of the transport services, we notice the complete absence of the naval titles so prominent in the Old Kingdom inscriptions. Whether this corresponds to a change in the route followed by the expeditions it is difficult to say. In 47 and 48 the title *imy-r hrw*, 'overseer of transport-ships', is borne by the divine chancellor, and the same title is found again alone in 77 and 92. In 137 are mentioned twenty 'rowers', *hnw*, in 85 thirty 'ferry-men', *dyw*, doubtless not to be distinguished in duties from the 'ferry-men', *s n dt*, of whom we find twenty in 106 and others possibly in 85 N. and 117.

The land transport seems to have been effected by means of donkeys driven by peasants. Details of their numbers have been given above, p. 11. Five hundred donkeys would appear to have been the usual number for an expedition of average size, and not more than fifty for a minor expedition (412 N.).

Among the minor titles the commonest is that of *hry-pr*, 'domestic'. In 30, 85, and 112 the title occurs alone, except that in 112 there is the addition 'the Syrian' (*rm*). In 90 we have a 'domestic of the Treasury', *hry-pr n pr-hd*, and in 28 a 'domestic of the Great House', *hry-pr n pr-ct*. But the commonest occurrence of the title is in the compound *hry-pr n pr-ct*, which can only mean 'domestic and *hry-pr*' or 'domestic of a *hry-pr*'.^b 'Serving-men', *wbrw*, are occasionally referred to, and twice (85 and 112) we find 'cooks' *qql*. The two 'gardeners', *kmy*, referred to in 85 may have been responsible for the outdoor arrangements of the temple precinct.

The above classification by no means exhausts the different types of labourer and official which appear in our inscriptions. There are others which figure less prominently or whose functions are practically unknown to us. Thus in three cases we find a mention of *s n imnw* (85, 106, and 110), and the numbers of these, 50, 75, and 50 respectively, show that they must have been a class of workmen of some importance in mining. In 32 we have an *imy-r imnw*, 'overseer of the imnw'.

Twice, in 126 and 127 (c), we find an *imy-r hnwty n t hnt*, 'intendant of the chamber of presents (?)', and once, in 106, occurs the rather uncommon *iry-ct n wrš*, 'petty official of the wrš'. On the other hand, the *iry-ct n pr-ct*, 'petty official of the Great House', is quite commonly referred to. A physician, *wr swmw*, is mentioned twice, in 85 and in 122 W., while the *hrp Srkt* *h*, a title which frequently accompanies *wr swmw*, occurs in Sinai five times. He is the professional magician.^c A scorpion-charmer, *sd-whrt*, lit. 'scorpion-remover', occurs in 23, 24, 112, 412, and 502.

No business in Egypt could be transacted without the presence of one or more scribes, and in consequence they are not wanting in Sinai. Few of the more complete inscriptions fail to mention them, though the exact type of scribe is not always specified. Twice we find a 'scribe of the Treasury', *ss n pr-hd*, but the 'royal scribe', *ss nsw*, common in later inscriptions, is rare in the Middle Kingdom.

In view of the existence of an Egyptian temple at Serâbit there is a remarkable lack of reference to priests in the inscriptions. Twice only do we hear of a *wrb*-priest (90 and 191) and there are


^a Cf. *Wb.* II, 190, 12.

Egyptian Antiquities at Alnwick Castle, pl. 4.

^b Apart from Sinai inscriptions probably only on a stela from Wâdy Gasûs, BIRCH, *Catalogue of the Collection of*

^c GARDINER, *PSBA* 39, 34-44, 140, and SAUNERON, *BIFAO* 51, 147, note 3.

only three references to the *hm-ntr*, and in only one case is he attached to the worship of Hathor (120). There is a *hmt-ntr Hthr* in 98.

Among the members of the Middle Kingdom expeditions must be mentioned the various Asiatics^a who occasionally accompanied them. 114 S. mentions 'of Retjenu, 10 foreigners (*hstyw*)', 120 N. '20 men of Retjenu', and in 115 we find a reference to six men of Retjenu (written , three of whom appear to be depicted, one riding on an ass. It will scarcely be necessary to recall here the famous 'brother of the prince of Retjenu', Khebbed, who appears in 85, 87, 92, and 112, very possibly also in 103 W. and 405 SE. The first three of these date from years 4, 5, and 13 of Ammenemes III, the fifth is of his year 25, while the others bear no year date but belong to the same reign.

The only other foreigners mentioned are the 'Amu. In 85 N. we find ten of these, while 110 W. records twenty 'Amu of Hami. In 24 A, 81, and 112 we have in each case the name of an 'Am among the list of workers. The small obelisk 163 names and depicts three men of Semitic names and appearance. However, from the character of the stone implements evidently used in mining at Serâbîṭ F. Debono^b concludes that inhabitants of the Peninsula must have been frequently employed in the work by the Egyptians.

C. The New Empire

For our present purpose the complete change in the nature of the Sinai inscriptions under the New Empire is a misfortune. It is true that the abundant private stelae give us a large collection of titles, but the great royal stelae now contain little more than the customary tiresome string of titles and epithets of the monarch, and have ceased to be in any true sense records of expeditions. We must not therefore look to find any details concerning mere workmen except sporadically on private stelae, and all we can do is to attempt to follow the changes in the higher command of the expeditions.

In the New Empire the divine chancellor, the intendants (*imy-r ḥnwty*) of various kinds, and the petty officials, *iry-rt*, as well as the Governor of Lower Egypt, have completely vanished. The Treasury is, however, still in charge of the expedition, in many cases being represented by the *imy-r sdwty*, 'chief treasurer', who commands in 172, 194, and 196, in each case with the prefixed titles *iry-pṛt*, *hṛty-r*, *sdwty bity*, *smr wty*, 'prince and count, chancellor of the king of Lower Egypt, sole friend', all doubtless little more than honorific. The Treasury is further represented by an *imy-r pr-ḥd*, 'overseer of the Treasury' (211, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, and 233), and once by a *ss pr-ḥd*, 'scribe of the Treasury' (194).

The sovereign himself is represented by his great steward, *imy-r pr wr n nsu* (194, 230), and by the 'royal scribe' *ss nsu*, in several instances. In 255 there is a damaged and obscure reference to the famous Vizier Pesiur.

An entirely new title which appears during the XVIIIth Dynasty and continues under the XIXth is that of 'royal envoy', *ipwty nsu*, with the occasional addition of 'in' or 'to all foreign lands'.^c Closely connected with this perhaps was the title of *imy-r ḥswt*, 'overseer of foreign lands' (294, 296, and 297).

At the same time military commanders once more come into prominence in the persons of the two 'commanders of bowmen', *hryw pḏt*, Amenemōpe and 'Ashahebsed of 247, 250, &c. In 294 a

^a On the Asiatics taking part in these expeditions see ČERNÝ, *Archiv Orientální* 7 (1935), 384-9.

^b *Annales du Service* 46, 265-85.

^c See on these STEINDORFF, *JEA* 25, 31-32.

certain Usikhau combines this last title with that of *imy-r hšwt*. Doubtless for military purposes Sinai was regarded as an appanage of the north-east frontier and the great military road into Asia.

SECTION 5. METHODS OF MINING

THE purpose of this section is to describe the actual process by which the turquoises were extracted from the mines and removed from the solid rock in which they are embedded. For the description of the appearance of the mines themselves at Maghârah and Serâbîṭ respectively reference must be made to Chapters II, section 1, and V, section 1.

It has already been pointed out (p. 4) that the gems occur only in one particular stratum of no great thickness, so that in order to extract them it was merely necessary to drive galleries into this stratum. At Maghârah, where the stratum lay about half-way up the face of the cliffs, the workings were therefore galleries with a small opening on the cliff face. At Serâbîṭ, where the rich stratum lay almost at the summit of the cliffs, and in places practically outcropped on the plateau, it was sometimes found more practicable to drive an open trench from one valley to the next across the face of the plateau and to work into the rock by means of low galleries opening off the bottom of the trench.

Of the actual extraction of the turquoises Bauerman has given us the best account, which is worth quoting almost in full.^a Speaking of Maghârah he says that the rock is a 'soft coarse-grained quartzose sandstone of a light-yellow colour, mottled with red and brown patches where more ferruginous. The turquoises are found lining the small open joints which cross the rock in a general north and south direction, and also in the solid sandstone a short distance from the joints, the best stones being found in the latter position, where they usually occur (more especially the larger ones) in the centre of small red marly or ochreous nodules. Those in the open joints are generally dull and white, or the best of a pale-blue tint; as a general rule it may be said that the redder the rock the finer will be the colour of the turquoises it contains.' He describes the ancient workings as 'large areas (say from 20 to 40 yds. square) excavated with only the smallest of pillars and these very often much undercut, with occasionally a kind of level or slope along the course of a crack where a nest of mineral was probably found'. The system, he adds, was the same as that employed by the Arabs at present, namely, 'to follow the joints, removing the rock adjoining the side, which is then broken small and sifted through a sieve of about half inch mesh. The whole of the coarser fragments kept back are then taken to the mouth of the cave where they are carefully picked over in daylight. The likely-looking nodular pieces are rubbed down on a piece of rough grit in order to see whether they contain turquoises or not; and if any blue colour is made apparent by this treatment the stone is considered to be worth keeping.'

He further tells us that the workings show small and irregular tool-marks due, he is positive, to flint tools. Flakes were found in the valley, on the hill, and in the workings. They are mostly triangular or trapezoidal with sharpened points blunted by use. They were mounted in wooden handles remains of which were found; had such flints been struck with a hammer direct he believes they would have split. Some of the hammers used were found. Many consisted merely of pieces of dolerite from the flow which caps the hills here, sometimes with a depression round them on either side to accommodate the fingers; others were grooved round 'like Aztec hammers'.

John Keast Lord, whose account, be it noted however, is obviously written up from the same set

^a *Quarterly Journal of Geol. Soc.* 25, 32-33.

of notes as that of Bauerman, corroborates this^a and even volunteers the statement 'There can be no doubt whatever that the mines were entirely dug out with flint tools'.

Both writers also refer to the use of flint tools at Serâbîṭ. It is therefore a little disconcerting to turn to Petrie's account of the mines and to find expressed there the opinion that the mines visited by him were certainly worked with copper tools. Thus with regard to the mine of Sanakht at Maghârah he explicitly states^b that 'it was worked entirely with metal chisels'. The chisel-marks showed clearly on the surfaces of the gallery and in 'some places the chisel-cut ran round in a circle,'^c three or four inches across'.

Another mine at Maghârah, that of Tuthmosis III and Hatshepsut, showed similar chisel-marks. The rubbish mounds of both these workings were searched for stone tools, but nothing but a few flint flakes were found, and these only in the second.^d However, on the slopes below the now destroyed mine of Neuserre and elsewhere on the cliffs, hundreds of flint flakes were found, together with many fragments of the basalt pounders or hammers described by Bauerman.^e Petrie is probably right in supposing that the flints were the tools of native Sinaitic workmen, since they are so conspicuously absent in the waste heaps of untouched Egyptian galleries. He denies the possibility of their having been employed as chisels for actual cutting in the mines themselves, but thinks that they may have been used by natives for scoring round turquoise nodules in order to liberate them from already detached lumps of rock. The worn condition of many of them agrees with this as does the fact that only a small proportion are pointed.

Petrie's observations at Serâbîṭ seem to point to the same conclusion. Here 'there is no trace of working with flints in the rock surfaces of the mining of the Egyptians'.^f Thousands of flints were found in the locality, but never in association with Egyptian workings. It seems clear, however, that the Egyptian miners did make use of heavy basalt pounders for breaking up the larger pieces of rock in order to extract the turquoises.^g

It will thus be seen that the evidence as to the use of metal or flint chisels is conflicting. Unfortunately we have no means of discovering which mines at the two sites were actually examined by Bauerman and Lord, and consequently whether these were the same as those in which Petrie believed he found traces of work with metal chisels. It may be that there are mines which were worked partly or wholly by natives to whom the use of metal was practically unknown. Whether the Sinai sandstone could be cut with flint chisels set in wood and struck with a mallet without splitting the flints at every blow is a point which can only be decided by experiment on the spot. On the other hand, whatever may have been the case in early times we can hardly believe that the Egyptian expeditions from the Middle Kingdom onwards went to Sinai unarmed with the bronze chisels which they used for all their work in Egypt.

^a *Leisure Hour*, 1870, p. 425.

^b *P. R.*, p. 48.

^c Petrie's suggestion that the workmen were therefore familiar with tube drills seems very doubtful.

^d *P. R.*, p. 49. We gather, however, from p. 161 that basalt

pounders occurred.

^e *P. R.*, figs. 58-60.

^f *P. R.*, p. 161.

^g See DEBONO, *Annales du Service* 46, 265-85, on stone tools used at Serâbîṭ.

CHAPTER II

MAGHÂRAH AND WÂDY UMM THEMÂIM

SECTION 1. DESCRIPTION OF THE SITE AND MINES OF MAGHÂRAH

MAGHÂRAH ('The Caves') is the name given by the natives of Sinai not to a valley but to the great cliffs in which the turquoise mines are cut. Thus while we may speak of these cliffs as Gebel Maghârah ('The Mountain of Caves') there is no such place as Wâdy Maghârah, and this old misnomer has therefore been avoided in the present publication. These cliffs form the western side of the winding Wâdy Kunayyah, وَادِي كُنَيْيَا (diminutive of وَادِي), which runs roughly south and debouches into a larger valley known to the natives as Wâdy Iknâ', وَادِي اِيْكَنَا, or Wâdy Kênâ', وَادِي كَيْنَا. The Arabs say that this name is derived from a word meaning 'a spring whose source is hidden' or 'unknown'. This might explain the form Iknâ'. It is more probable, however, that the correct writing should be وَادِي اَيْكَا or وَادِي اَيْكَا, meaning 'the sides of a valley which resemble walls', a very suitable description of these fine cliffs. This valley, after running due south for a short distance, enters the Wâdy Sidrah which runs roughly west out on to the plain of El Markhâ'.

The portion of the Wâdy Kunayyah which is of interest to us is the portion extending not more than a quarter of a mile from its mouth upwards. This portion, although the general direction of the valley is north and south, forms as it were an arc of a circle with its chord due north and south and its convexity to the west. On this west side the cliffs rise, steep but not precipitous, to a height of about 500 feet. On the opposite side they are less imposing, being not more than 200 feet in height and forming at the top a small V-shaped plateau standing as it were on the promontory which separates the Wâdy from the Wâdy Iknâ' into which it runs. It is on this plateau that the miners' huts, so fully described by Petrie, stand. Over against them in the cliffs of the west wall are the entrances to the mines and the rock tablets which record their opening.

The whole of this imposing locality has been so well described by previous writers^a that it would be waste of time to do more than add a few points which may help the reader to summon up a picture of the place and its actual appearance.

Perhaps the most attractive description of Maghârah is that given by Keast Lord^b who, it should be remembered, visited the site in the sixties, when much that has since been destroyed by modern mining was still untouched. He first describes the miners' settlement on the small plateau on the east side of the valley. This plateau he tells us lies about 50 feet below the summit of the hill, and is partly natural, partly levelled. It is encircled by a breast-work 2 to 3 feet high made of rough stones, inside which lie at least 200 houses.^c These are mostly rectangular, rarely circular, made of rough stones set without mortar, with walls not more than 3 or 4 feet in height and extremely narrow entrances. He mentions one two-storied house standing a little way back from the edge. Drinking water he thinks was probably brought from the wells in the Wâdy Kênâ', quite a mile and a half distant. At the same time he believes that in Egyptian times there was a small lake at the bottom of the hill, for numerous shells of the bivalve mollusc, *Spatha chaziana*, were found in the alluvium of the valley and also in one of the mines.

^a See especially P. R., chaps. iii and iv with the figures appertaining thereto.

^b *Leisure Hour*, 1870, pp. 399 ff., 423 ff., 462.

^c An over-estimate; see P. R., p. 51.

Passing now to the other side of the valley he says, 'The mines . . . are situated . . . up in the face of the cliff about 250 feet above the level of the valley. There are several entrances into the workings, the latter extending about 300 yards along the front of the cliff. The modern workings are easily traceable, as they entirely differ from those of the ancient miners, and are mostly confined to the entrances into the mines, seldom extending into the interior.' 'The turquoises are contained in a sandstone rock of which there are two beds from 15 to 20 feet apart. The greater number of turquoises at present occur in the upper bed.'

Most interesting of all is the description given of the actual exploration of an ancient mine.

Very soon after entering the mine we had to crawl on our hands and knees, the roof being too low to admit of any other position. . . . I examined the roof as I crawled along, and observed that it was everywhere thickly covered with small irregular marks, which had evidently been grooved out by the point of some blunt kind of tool resembling a miner's 'gad'. . . . The joints and minute cracks had been widened by pounding away the edges, and the contents, whatever they might have been, worked out as far as it was practicable for the miner to get at them. We passed several pillars of rock which had been left in order to support the roof as the rock was mined from beneath it. The manner in which these old miners contrived to work away the rock so as to leave these natural columns of sandstone rock as supports, was most ingenious, and one marvels at the indomitable patience these men must have possessed.

The explorer finally wriggles through a small opening into a cavern.

. . . the chamber was artificially cut in the solid rock. At a rough estimate I should say its size was about 20 feet long, 14 feet wide and 5 feet in height, measured from the surface of the sand covering the floor. We afterwards proved that the covering of sand and debris had nearly an average depth of three feet; hence the chamber if cleared out from floor to roof would have measured quite eight feet.

Men were now set to dig the floor and found 'numerous flint flakes or chisels, many stone hammers, several fragments of wood' some of it partly carbonized, and valves of the mollusc *Spatha chaziana*. 'This chamber was at the extreme end of the old miners' workings, wherein they had evidently mined to the very last. . . . The same kind of marks everywhere covered the walls and roof as I had noticed in the outer chamber. Now on comparing these marks with the blunted points of the flint chisels we discovered, they were found to exactly correspond.'^a

Unfortunately Lord gives us no detail which would enable us to identify this mine.^b The passages quoted above remain in any case the most vivid and complete description of a turquoise mine which has yet been given to us.

The mines of Wâdy Umm Themâim, وادی ام ثمام

It is generally taken for granted that the Egyptian turquoise mining in Sinai was limited to Maghârah and Serâbî el-Khâdim. It is, however, quite probable that a third source was used, at least during the Middle Kingdom. If one descends the Wâdy Kūnayyah in which Maghârah lies and walks down the Wâdy Sidrah, first southwards and then bending towards the west, one finds on the north side, after a journey of about a mile and a half, the mouth of the little Wâdy Umm Themâim, which runs north-west and south-east. In this valley H. S. Palmer as early as 1878 noticed the presence of extensive workings and of Egyptian inscriptions.^c In 1905 Weill^d re-explored this valley and found 'in the bed of the valley, in the neighbourhood of mines destroyed as completely as those of Maghârah, a large block with several hieroglyphic inscriptions'. The inscriptions,

^a On this point see above, p. 21.

1878 and 1892, p. 98.

^b See, however, WEILL, *Recueil*, p. 29, n. 1.

^d WEILL, *Recueil*, p. 30, and *P.S.*, pp. 150 and 153. The place is shown on *Carte 3* of *P.S.*

^c H. S. PALMER, *Sinai from the Fourth Egyptian Dynasty*,

which are almost illegible, Weill assigns to the XIIth Dynasty, presumably on the ground of their style, for he apparently read no king's name in them.

Unfortunately he gives no opinion as to whether the mines had been worked for turquoise or for copper, but in the absence of any traces of smelting in this region it is perhaps not over bold to assume that turquoise was the mineral sought.

SECTION 2. DATE OF THE MONUMENTS OF MAGHĀRAH

OF the two principal regions whither the Egyptians sent expeditions in quest of the highly-prized turquoise, Maghārah was certainly the earlier worked, and in all probability their sole objective until after the close of the VIth Dynasty. It is true that a grey marble hawk of Snofru (below, no. 62) was found at Serâbîṭ el-Khâdim, and that the same monarch was there commemorated by later generations in various ways. Still, the hawk may easily have been brought to Serâbîṭ at a later date, and from the admittedly posterior mentions of Snofru it by no means follows that this Pharaoh was active in the immediate neighbourhood of Serâbîṭ itself; its temple of Hathor, which presumably came into existence no earlier than the XIth Dynasty, was the sole Egyptian place of worship in the peninsula, and it is natural that its walls should not have passed over in complete silence the remote pioneers who left their records at Maghārah, where two fine and conspicuous sculptured scenes attest the activity of Snofru. Two considerations go far to clinch this argument: firstly, the absence of any other Old Kingdom monuments at Serâbîṭ, and secondly, the significant fact, hitherto strangely overlooked, that the goddess Hathor, so prominent at Serâbîṭ, is never once mentioned in the Old Kingdom inscriptions of Maghārah, though of course she is frequently named there in the XIIth Dynasty, when Maghārah had lapsed into wholly secondary importance.

The inscriptions of Maghārah begin in the Archaic Period and cover the whole of the Old Kingdom and the XIIth Dynasty. The earliest tablet is that of Smerkhet of the Ist Dynasty, but there is no other monument from that Dynasty and none at all from the next. The IIIrd Dynasty is represented by tablets of Djoser and Sanakht, and the three succeeding dynasties show an almost unbroken series of monuments. Then follows a complete break corresponding to the First Intermediate Period, VIIth to Xth Dynasties, when internal confusion in Egypt, and perhaps also the presence of Asiatics in the Delta, precluded the possibility of expeditions to Sinai.

The earliest dated monuments of the XIIth Dynasty are the tablets of the 2nd year of Ammenemes III (23, 24, and 25), though some of the undated inscriptions of the Middle Kingdom may perhaps have been earlier, and the latest are those of the 6th year of his successor Ammenemes IV (33, 34, and 35).

The Later Intermediate Period shows as complete a break in Sinai as the Earlier, doubtless for precisely the same reasons. The only New Empire monument at Maghārah is the tablet of the 16th year of Hatshepsut and Tuthmosis III (44). The stela of Ramesses II, said to have been seen by Ebers at Maghārah, has never been re-discovered and is probably a myth.

SECTION 3. NATURE OF THE MONUMENTS OF MAGHĀRAH

ALL the Pharaonic records of Maghārah are graven upon the rock and commemorate the expeditions sent either by particular kings, or the visits paid by particular individuals in the course of those expeditions. It will not be uninstrusive, and will save much space later, to classify and describe here the records of the various periods *en masse*.

The monuments of the OLD KINGDOM are without exception, so far as can be judged, in raised relief. As a rule the entire surface around the figures and hieroglyphs has been chiselled away by the sculptor, but occasionally (e.g. in 6, lower part) only a small portion has been removed, giving to the whole composition a strange and somewhat confused appearance. Three types of record may be distinguished: (A) royal inscriptions accompanied by scenes or figures; (B) royal inscriptions without scenes or figures; and (C) private inscriptions with or without scenes or figures, and all other such unofficial records.

TYPE A. This is the type of all the earlier tablets, Menkauhor (12) being the first to abandon it in favour of a simple inscription with no figures.

The commonest feature is the representation of the king smiting an enemy; this occurs in all the earliest tablets except 3, which is fragmentary. It is a scene not unusual in Egyptian art; the earliest example, carefully executed but deficient as yet in strength and movement, is found on the great slate-palette of Narmer,^a which is supplemented in the Ist Dynasty by some possibly contemporary ivory cylinders,^b by the ivory plaque of King Udymu (Usaphais) formerly in the Macgregor collection, now in the British Museum,^c and by the Maghârah tablet of Smerkhet (Semempses, 4). At Maghârah the series ends with Phiops I (16), but samples dating from the XVIIIth and XIXth Dynasties (after one instance of the XIth at Gebelein and one of the XIIth at Dahshûr) are visible on the rocks of Assuan and on the temple walls of Thebes.^d

The king in most cases wears the crown of Upper Egypt (Narmer, 1, 6, 8, 10, and 16), only in one case each the crown of Lower Egypt (4) and the double crown (7); Djoser on his tablet (2) wears the kerchief with the uraeus, like Udymu on the plaque; the head-dress of Snofru in 5 is quite unusual and consists of the two feathers and of horns. The dress of the king consists in the majority of cases (1, 4, 8, (?), 10, and 16) of a close-fitting tunic held up by bands that are fastened over the left shoulder; above this a girdle with a square-ended lappet hanging from it encircles the waist; from the girdle worn by Smerkhet (1) a dagger projects. In a few instances the type of loin-cloth known as the *shendoyet* is alone worn (2, 5, 6, and 7), the clearest example being on the more elaborate of the two tablets left by Snofru (5); sometimes there is a necklet about the king's throat. His attire is invariably completed by the bull's tail.^e The king bends forward, throwing his weight upon the left foot; in his uplifted right hand he brandishes a mace or club of the familiar type; this he is about to bring down upon the head of a kneeling prisoner, whom with the left hand he grasps by the hair.^f In addition to this lock of hair he holds in the same hand a staff or, as Petrie supposes, a spear; this is intelligibly rendered only in 1 and 8, its lower half in all other cases being hidden behind the captive's back. The supposition that this object is a spear—Petrie thinks it is that which has been taken from the Beduin—is not confirmed by a comparison of the scenes, see especially 6; it is more probably the staff of office usually seen in the king's left hand when he marches forward with his club in the right hand (1, 3, and 8).

^a QUIBELL, *Hierakonpolis*, 1, pl. 29 (PORTER-MOSS, v, 193-4).

^b Op. cit., pl. 15.

^c No. 55586. For bibliography see PORTER-MOSS, v, 84.

^d VON BISSING has studied all these with care in his *Denkmäler ägyptischer Sculptur*; see the text to his pls. 2 (the slate-palette of Narmer), 33 A (the Gebelein reliefs), and 87 (reliefs of Sethos I at Karnak). See too the pectoral DE MORGAN, *Fouilles de Dahchour*, 1, pl. 20.

^e That it was a bull's tail can be inferred from MOND &

MYERS, *Temples of Armant*, pl. C III, line 7, and Text vol., p. 184, note k.

^f The lock of hair (Egn. *hmskyt*, see the commentary on 1) is mistaken by Petrie (*P. R.*, p. 42) for the tassel belonging to what he supposes to be the Bedawy spear; see below. The only example which could in any case seem to countenance this view is the plaque of Udymu. Nor in our opinion is von Bissing's suggestion that the lock may in some cases (e.g. 5, 6) be a feather at all a fortunate one.

The figure of the crouching Beduin presented a more difficult problem to the draughtsman than that of the king, but it was successfully overcome already in the sculptures of Djoser (2), by which time the conventional type subsequently followed had been fully established. The earlier examples show the progressive development of the type. The slate-palette of Narmer displays the prisoner kneeling in a helpless and abjectly resigned attitude; the plaque of Udyemu, where the foreigner faces the king and grasps him by the leg, over-emphasizes his effort to obtain mercy. The type finally adopted skilfully combines these active and passive elements, laying stress upon the prisoner's appeal for mercy while giving due weight to the notion of his helplessness. The back-turned position is accepted once and for all;^a the king has forced his enemy to his knees, and the latter is prevented from falling only by the left hand which rests upon the bended left knee. The face is turned towards the Pharaoh and the gesture of the right arm is that of a suppliant.^b In the reliefs of Smerket (1) the left hand, instead of resting on the knee, grasps a feather; this trait, which recurs in the funerary temple of Neuserre^c and in the Gebelein sculptures, is rightly interpreted by Petrie as a gesture of submission; the feather is that which the enemy has plucked from his own head. The condition of the monuments makes it difficult to say much about either the captive's features or about his clothing; he seems always to have the long pointed beard later characteristic of the conventional Semitic face; in some cases he might be fancied to be nude, but in 1, 7, 8, 10, and 16 there are clear traces of a loin-cloth.

The deities depicted in connexion with the Old Kingdom scenes

The Theban examples of the scene,^d with their unfortunate tendency to exaggeration, substitute a number of enemies for a single enemy, and depict them either squatting or standing. An early instance, perhaps indeed the prototype, of this degradation is found, in very fragmentary condition, in the funerary temple of Neuserre.^e Since it has no analogy at Sinai we need not dwell further upon it here. Another trait of importance in the reliefs of the Theban period is that they always represent the scene as taking place in front of a god, whence the question arises as to whether the act of immolation is sacrificial in character or whether it is commemorative of actual warfare. In the Maghârah monument of Kheops (7) Thoth appears to preside over the scene, and the banner in 4 suggests Upwawet. However, in 3 and 8, as well as upon the plaque of Udyemu, the wolf-god faces in the same direction as the king, a clear sign that his presence betokens but a general patronage and indicates no close connexion with the particular act depicted. In most of the Maghârah examples no deity accompanies the scene; further, both Thoth (10) and Upwawet (3), in isolated cases, accompany other scenes at Maghârah where there can be no question of a sacral significance. Pharaoh was always apt to be accompanied by some protective deity, either specially connected with himself or with the locality in which he was at the time supposed to be. Thoth was the local god of Maghârah; Upwawet is a war-like deity closely allied with the dynastic race. The Horus of the Lower Egyptian town of Behdet, later assimilated to Edfu in Upper Egypt, hovers in falcon shape above the Pharaoh's head in 7^f and 16;^g in 10 and 16 he is depicted under the image of the

^a The Dahshûr pectoral alone adheres to the type initiated by the plaque of Udyemu.

^b In 2 the prisoner's right hand grasps the king's left forearm; elsewhere it is raised as though in prayer.

^c BORCHARDT, *Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Ne-user-re*, p. 86, fig. 64.

^d See VON BISSING, op. cit., nos. 86 and 87.

^e BORCHARDT, loc. cit.

^f This, the monument of Kheops, is the earliest example, except perhaps the relief of King Kheops at Hatnub (ANTHES, *Die Felseninschriften von Hatnub*, pl. 4).

^g The model for this is given by the great mace of Narmer (QUIBELL, *Hierakonpolis*, 1, pl. 26 B), where Nekhbet, the vulture-goddess, is seen hovering over the pavilion where the king is seated.

solar disk with extended wings.^a The conventional representation of the sky with its stars also appears here for the first time (8 and 10); the *uas*-sceptres that bound the sides of the scene in 8 are perhaps the earliest example of this use, which often occurs later, e.g. 122. The king is described in 10 and 15 as the favourite of Edjō, the cobra-goddess of Lower Egypt; perhaps it is this goddess who holds life and prosperity in store for Djoser in the much-weathered sculptures that commemorate the expedition sent by him to Sinai (2).

The meaning of the scene depicting the smiting of a foreign chief

It is doubtless as exhibiting a particularly glorious aspect of kingship that the scene of the Pharaoh clubbing a foreign foe has been chosen for depiction at Sinai; but it would hardly have been chosen unless there had been some possibility of this aspect being called into play in the course of the expeditions thither. It must be assumed that the caravans were, in the earlier times, apt to be attacked by marauding Beduins, in which case the leader of the expedition would naturally have an opportunity of displaying the victorious might of Pharaoh. This would explain the gradual abandonment of the theme after the Vth Dynasty, and its total disappearance both at Maghārah and Serābît after the XIIth. It would explain too its absence in the records of the Wādy Ḥam-māmât, where there can have been but few foes to fight, and its presence, on the contrary, at Assuan^b where there was always the possibility of Nubian aggression to be reckoned with. The inscriptions accompanying the Maghārah scenes here in question are not very illuminating; the only proper names applied to the enemy are Mentju (𓄏𓄏𓄏, 8, 10, and 16) and Ionwet (𓄏𓄏𓄏, 7), the second of which appears to be a word for nomads generally while the first, rather more specifically, refers to Asiatic nomads.

In three of the cases (1, 6, and 8) in which the above-discussed scene occurs it is accompanied by a double representation of the king in his alternate aspects of King of Upper Egypt and King of Lower Egypt, the difference being marked by the crown that is worn.^c He looks towards the right and holds both the mace and the staff (1 and 8) or else the mace alone (6). In one instance (3) we have the representation of the king as King of Upper Egypt only, but this occurs on a broken block which may well have lost the complementary figure. The tablet of Phiops I (16) combines with the smiting scene a depiction of one of the most characteristic acts of the *Sed*-festival—the king running, with the flail in his right hand and a curious short stick or similar object in his left.^d In all these examples the main purpose is to display the Pharaoh under some characteristic and important aspect; though in 16 there is evidently the additional intention of dating the tablet, which was probably cut in the year of 'the first occasion of the *Sed*-festival'. The tablet of Phiops II (17) is very nearly of the Type B to be discussed below, consisting of inscriptions without figures; however, there is represented a small figure of the queen Ankhnasmaryrē.

The monuments of Smerkhet (1) and Djoser (2) are peculiar in possessing besides the figures of the king those of private individuals. These will be discussed in their own proper place. Unique, too, is the representation of the great vase in 10, which symbolizes the fresh water given by Thoth, 'lord of the foreign deserts'.

TYPE B. The rock-tablets without scenes in relief are a development from those having such

^a The earliest example seems to be a plaque of Kheops in the University College, London, see PETRIE, *A History of Egypt*, I, 56.

^b See DE MORGAN, *Catalogue des monuments*, I, 4–6, for several commemorative tablets with scenes of this kind.

^c See the sealing of King Djer (?), PETRIE, *Royal Tombs*, II, pl. 15, no. 108, where, however, the king does not stand, but is seated.

^d For a discussion of the meaning of this ceremony see KEES, *Der Opfertanz des ägyptischen Königs*, chap. iv.

scenes, for here the cartouches and titles occupy a compartment to themselves and replace the earlier figured representations. The earliest examples are those of Menkauhor (12) and Djadkerê (13 and 15); types A and B are combined in 16 and 17, these having the long inscriptions characteristic of B. It now becomes the custom to record the names of the leaders and of the chief officials taking part in the expedition, the introductory formula being *ipt nsw irt-n* (or *hbt hnr*), 'the royal expedition made by' (or 'sent with'), see nos. 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, and 19.^a

TYPE C. The unofficial graffiti of the Old Kingdom are very few in number (nos. 18, 20, 21, and 22) and call for no special comment; like similar jottings the world over, they consist either of rough drawings or records of the writers' names.

The records of the MIDDLE KINGDOM at Maghârah differ from those of the Old Kingdom in that they are invariably incised. They sometimes affect the shape of a round-topped stela (26 and 27), and the longer examples always begin with a regnal date. This is followed by a brief statement of the nature and purpose of the expedition, or by a more or less lengthy enumeration of the titles and good qualities of the official who headed it or who caused the inscription to be cut, together with the names and titles of a few of his colleagues or subordinates; or else, thirdly, by a *htp-dt-nsw* formula on behalf of himself and his companions.

There are only two instances of scenes; the one (23) depicts the king before the gods of Sinai, Thoth and Hathor; the other (24) is a rather unusual scene of offering.

One inscription (26) contains the words 'this gallery in which the brilliant (?) turquoise is found', and must therefore have marked the entrance to a mine, as doubtless did several others among those which are now destroyed.

A certain number of these Middle Kingdom tablets (26-35, 37, 42, and 43) form a group which palaeographically is both remarkable and interesting. It is surely not without significance that those of them which are dated (26-35) all belong to the period between year 30 of Ammenemes III and year 6 of his successor. In style they form a complete contrast both with the tablets of the earlier years of the reign of Ammenemes III (23, 24, 24 A, and 25) and with the contemporary monuments of Serâbî. They are extremely roughly cut, and yet there is an air of regularity and neatness about them which is not at all displeasing. The crudity of the work combined with the use of unusual, often unparalleled forms for quite common signs, gives them a falsely archaic air. It is hardly likely that all these tablets, covering as they do a period of about twenty years, should be by the same hand, and this merely serves to make them the more remarkable as a group.

One Middle Kingdom inscription, 40, is written in hieratic, while one other, 39, employs an extremely cursive script.





The one monument of the NEW KINGDOM which has been found at Maghârah (44) differs from contemporary monuments at Serâbî only in being cut on a living rock surface instead of on a temple wall or free-standing stela. It is dated in year 6 of Hatshepsut and Tuthmosis III; on the right the queen makes an offering to Sopdu and on the left the king offers to Hathor.

SECTION 4. THE DEITIES NAMED AT MAGHÂRAH

If any deity is to be regarded as the special patron of Maghârah, the claims of THOTH alone merit consideration. We find him as the *numen loci* in the sculptures of Kheops (7) and again in those of Neuserre (10). In the latter he is venerated as the giver of the cool water so essential in these arid

^a Similarly in the Wâdy Hammâmât, at Tomâs, &c. Nos. 9 and 11 are small incomplete royal inscriptions.

regions, and receives the epithet 𓏏𓏏𓏏 'lord of the foreign deserts' which he shares elsewhere with Horus and Sopdu.^a Whereas, however, these latter gods are of purely Egyptian origin, the Thoth of Sinai may well be the Egyptianized equivalent of a local moon-god worshipped by the nomad tribes of the place.^b This would appear to be indicated by the title 𓏏𓏏𓏏 'lord of the nomads' accorded to Thoth in a scene of the funerary temple of Sahurê.^c Various proper names in the later native Sinaitic inscriptions, as well as the testimony of classical authors, vouch for the existence of an indigenous cult of the Moon;^d we may also note in passing the often repeated, but highly speculative, derivation of the name Sinai from the name of Sin,^e the Babylonian moon-god.

In the records of the Middle Kingdom Thoth is somewhat overshadowed by the Hathor of Serâbiṭ (see nos. 27-30, 33, 35, and 36), who by now had extended her influence as far as Maghârah, but he is depicted on one stela of Ammenemes III (23) and named on another (24). With HATHOR we shall deal later in connexion with her temple at Serâbiṭ el-Khâdim. Two other gods, though but sparsely attested at Maghârah, must come in for a brief notice here. SPPDU, who bears the epithet '*lord of the eastern (desert)*' (, 28, 33, and 35) owes his prominence at Sinai to the fact that he was the local god of the nome of Arabia and of its metropolis, now Saft el-Hennah, through which the Egyptians must habitually have passed on their way to Sinai;^f it is for precisely the same reason that Khnum, lord of the Cataract, was subsequently worshipped throughout the whole extent of Nubia. HORUS,  '*lord of the foreign deserts*', is named explicitly only once (28); this is because in the earlier records he is represented by the Pharaoh in very person, especially in his aspect of a victorious god smiting his enemies ( '*Horus with the uplifted (?) arm*' (7 and 16). In the funerary temple of Sahurê^g that king is called  '*Neferhôr, lord of all foreign deserts*', clearly in allusion to his Sinaitic expeditions.^g So, too, the worship of Horus is found wherever the Pharaoh carried his conquering arms and enlarged the borders of Egypt; thus in Lower Nubia we find a Horus of Baki, of Miam, and of Buhen.

But it is not solely under the generalized concept of Horus that the Pharaoh appears as a deity in Sinai. Like Sesostriis III in Nubia, SNOFRU came to possess a special sanctity alike at Maghârah and Serâbît, doubtless, as has already been suggested, on account of the fine monuments (5 and 6) which he left at the former site; at Maghârah he is named as a god on three rock-stelae of the XIIth Dynasty (24, 28, and 35). We shall attempt to prove, in our commentary upon no. 1, that the obscure god SEMSERU, several times mentioned away from Sinai and once named in a text from Serâbît, was none other than King Smerkhet of the Ist Dynasty, as depicted on his sculptured record at Maghârah. This is several generations older than any other monument in the place, and it would be strange had it not impressed itself upon the memory and excited the veneration of later visitors to the site.

One other god seems to have been prominent at Maghârah, namely, UPWAWET. He appears three times in the form of a standing animal of jackal type upon a tall perch fitted with the protuberance known as the *šdsd*, and in two cases, if not in all, with the addition of the uraeus snake. His first appearance occurs in the peculiarly arranged tablet of Sanakht (3), and he recurs in 4, 7, and 8, the tablets of Sanakht (here almost destroyed), Kheops, and Sahurê respectively, where he presides over the smiting of the foreigner by the king.

^a *Dḥwtꜣ nb ḥꜣswt*, see BORCHARDT, *Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Šasḥu-reꜥ*, II, pl. 12.

^b L. ECKENSTEIN, 'Moon-cult in Sinai on the Egyptian Monuments', in *Ancient Egypt*, I (1914), 9-13.

^c BORCHARDT, *op. cit.*, II, pl. 8, with Sethe's remarks in the text, p. 83.

^d See BAETHGEN, *Beiträge zur semitischen Religionsgeschichte*, p. 105.

^c See, for example, BURNEY, *The Book of Judges*, pp. 251-2.

^f See above, pp. 11-12.

⁸ BORCHARDT, *op. cit.*, II, pl. 12.

CHAPTER III

THE ANCIENT REMAINS OF THE WÂDY NAŞB AND THE WÂDY KHARÎT

IMPORTANT traces of early mining activity are to be found in a valley running southwards from the Wâdy Suwwuk not far from its junction with the Wâdy Baba'. This is the Wâdy Naşb (وادی نصب, 'the valley of the stone-altar'), and several travellers have described its vast mass of slag from copper-smelting, from 6 to 8 feet high covering an area variously estimated at 500×300 feet and at 250×200 yards.

Bauerman^a in particular has given an excellent description of these slag heaps. In them, he says, 'numerous clay twyer-nozzles, with an air passage of about $\frac{3}{4}$ inch diameter, were found In nearly all cases shots of metallic copper are found included in the slag adhering to the twyers.'

The only structure which could possibly have been used as a furnace was a pair of small enclosures of unequal size, the larger about 6 feet square, the smaller about $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet square, both walled in on three sides to a height of about 2 feet from the ground. But there was no trace of any lining which had been subjected to heat.

Different operations were carried on here.

In places the fragments are broken up small, and contain many shots of metal, now mostly changed into malachite; these are probably rich selected cinders either from the first fusion or perhaps from the refinery, which have been put on one side for further treatment; while on the other hand at the upper end of the heap crusts of well melted clean slags from $1\frac{1}{2}$ to 2 in. in thickness are spread over the ground, as though they had been allowed to flow from the furnace and solidify upon the rock in the place where they are now found. It may well be therefore that these represent the operations of larger furnaces worked perhaps at a later period, when the art of metallurgy was more advanced than was the case when the thinner and less perfectly melted slags were produced.

He also mentions another similar but smaller slag heap at the lower end of the valley.

R. Weill^b conjectures that the ore here dealt with was brought partly from the plateau of Serâbîṭ el-Khâdim,^c which is not more than a few miles distant to the east, and partly from a nearer valley, the Wâdy Kharîṭ,^d which branches off from the Wâdy Baba' (see below). The first of these suppositions is based on the position of a stela of Ammenemes III (46) at the crest of the hill on the eastern flank of the Wâdy Naşb; this must mark the first stage in a path the whole course of which has not been re-discovered, but which led across the intervening valleys and through Rôḍ el-'Aîr to the neighbourhood of the temple.^e

The existence of water in the Wâdy Naşb and the consequent good supply of fuel are the reasons suggested by R. Weill for the smelting there of the copper ore carried thither from a distance; the same reasons, according to him, would account for the mass of slag observed near the mouth of the Wâdy Baba'.^f There is a plentiful spring in the Wâdy Naşb, which affords the explanation of the palm-garden photographed by Petrie as well as of the native cemetery mentioned by him. The

^a *Quarterly Journal of Geol. Soc.* 25, 29-30.

^b *La Presqu'île du Sinai*, pp. 133-5.

^c Despite the persistent testimony of the geologists to the effect that copper is not found at Serâbîṭ on a workable scale. See, for example, HOLLAND in *Quarterly Journal of Geol. Soc.*

22, 492.

^d See, too, BAUERMAN in *Quarterly Journal of Geol. Soc.*

25, 29.

^e See op. cit., pp. 181-2, and above, p. 5.

^f See op. cit., p. 126, and P. R., p. 18.

tablet, of which only the upper half is preserved, does not call for any special comment^a but a few words must be said with regard to the mines in the Wâdy Kharîṭ, though this was visited neither by Petrie nor by Weill. The Wâdy Kharîṭ^b is a small ravine opening out of the western side of the Wâdy Baba' about a mile and a half below the spot where it is met by the Wâdy Naşb. On the western side of this valley, roughly half a mile from its junction with the Wâdy Baba', is an ancient mine driven into the iron and manganese bed.^c It is an irregular underground excavation, about 100 metres in length by 10 in width and 2 metres in average height. As the iron and manganese have both been left on the spot it seems almost certain that copper ore, which frequently occurs in this stratum, was what was sought by the ancient miners. There is no indication whatsoever of date.

The evidence of Keast Lord^d with regard to these mines is worth quoting. He says, 'We found that at this place mining was carried on upon a much more extensive scale than in the iron and manganese mines at Naşb, for the obvious reason, that mixed with the iron and manganese at Wâdy Kharîṭ were strings or tiny veins of green carbonate of copper'. He considers that the workings must date from an early period, since the veins of copper are so thin that the metal must have had a very high value to make it worth working.

Bauerman tells us further that the workings ran back about 40 yards from the face and that in them the whole mass of rock is removed except for supporting pillars left at intervals of about 50 feet apart. The walls and pillars, he adds, are covered with chisel-marks from three-quarters to seven-eighths inches wide.

^a For its position see P. R., p. 27 and fig. 20.

^b Called Khalig, Kharig, and Chaly by the early travellers.

^c JOHN BALL, *Geography and Geology of West-Central Sinai*, pp. 190, 191; MURRAY, 'The Hamâda Country', in *The Cairo*

Scientific Journal, 6, 268; BAUERMAN in *Quarterly Journal of Geol. Soc.* 25, 28.

^d *Leisure Hour*, 1870, p. 319.

CHAPTER IV

SERÂBÎT EL-KHÂDIM

SECTION 1. SERÂBÎT EL-KHÂDIM, ITS MINES AND QUARRIES

SERÂBÎT^a EL-KHÂDIM may be described as a plateau forming the upper surface of a great mountain promontory defined by a number of valleys, Wâdy Ba'lah (Petrie's Wâdy Bateh) on the west, Wâdy Suwwuk on the north, Wâdy Serâbît el-Khâdim on the north-east and east, the Wâdy Shellâl, the mountain Tartîr ed-Dhami and Wâdy Sidrah on the south. Little is known of this rectangular or diamond-shaped region south of the twin peaks of Umm Riclein ('Mother of two feet') which form so conspicuous a landmark in the views looking southward from the temple of Hathor. Our concern is only with the more northerly parts specifically known as Serâbît el-Khâdim. Here we find ourselves in the same geological formation as at Maghârah, though at a vastly higher level: the highest point of the red sandstone plateau attains the respectable height of 2,600 feet, only 300 feet less than the vast limestone ramparts of the Gebel et-Tîh, which it confronts across the broad intervening sandy dyke of the Debbet er-Ramla. The mountain mass rises with great abruptness from the surrounding valleys, and cannot be climbed with any comfort from any of these directions. On the south, however, where it joins on to the great mountain massif which culminates in Gebel Umm Riclein it is more approachable, and the Wâdy Umm Agraf and Wâdy Sidrah offer a fairly comfortable route thither from the workings at Maghârah. The Egyptians, however, avoided this roundabout way, and chose a more direct route up a small valley Rôd el-'Aîr (see p. 13).

Those who wish to form some idea of the appearance of this remarkable stone-strewn plateau with the steep yet winding valleys which cleave it on all sides almost up to the centre will do well to read Weill's description, illustrating it by Petrie's photographs.^b

The mines of Serâbît

With regard to the mines themselves there is little to be added to the descriptions given by Petrie and by Weill. We have already referred (p. 4 f.) to the geological structure of the plateau, and noted that the upper sandstone, usual in western Sinai, is here denuded away completely, leaving the

^a The objections of a reviewer (*Ancient Egypt*, 1917, p. 135) to our spelling of Serâbît do not in the least incline us to change it. Even were it true that the natives shorten the â to such an extent that it is almost inaudible our form would still not be a misspelling; we have throughout endeavoured to make our spellings an exact transcription on the accepted lines from the etymologically correct Arabic writing. To have allowed for the abnormalities of local Bedawy pronunciation would have been to reduce system to chaos.

As a matter of fact we strongly suspect, judging by our reviewer's words, that what he heard as a disyllable, i.e. with an inaudible a, was not the form Serâbît at all but the form Sarbût, which is not, as he seems to imagine, a travellers' error but the singular form of which Serâbît is the broken plural. Both singular and plural seem to be used by the natives indifferently.

The significance of the name Serâbît el-Khâdim is not at all

clear. El-Khâdim is said to refer to a statue of 'a servant' found on the plateau some time ago and removed to Europe. We are unable to find confirmation of this story. The meaning of Serâbît is uncertain. The singular Sarbût appears to be used in Sinai of any kind of protuberance from a camel's hump to a mountain, and may therefore be related to *مسربط* which Professor Margoliouth informed us is given in the native dictionaries as an adjective applied to melons, being apparently a variety of *سبط*. Professor Margoliouth further noted that as a place name *سربط* is located by Yâkût in Armenia while *سرايط* is mentioned by him but not located. 'Neither of these forms is likely to be Arabic; the Armenian dictionary gives *saravoyt* with the sense of "lofty building", which is probably the origin of both these names.'

^b Weill, *P.S.*, pp. 163 ff.; *P. R.*, figs. 1, 66-71.

limestone as a cap to many of the smaller hillocks on the plateau. The consequence is that the turquoise-bearing shales which lie between the limestone and the lower sandstone are here situated almost on the surface of the plateau, and the obvious method of working them is to attack them at the points where they are exposed by the numerous valleys which cut up the plateau. Moreover, since the turquoises are often not more than a few feet below the surface it was often possible to provide access to and ventilation for the galleries by letting down shafts from the surface, as in the case of Mines A, B, D, and L.

The positions of the various mines are shown in Pl. XC where each mine is marked with a letter. In the reference notes given at the foot of the plate each letter is followed by the number of the inscription or inscriptions found in or at the entrance to the mine, and by the name of the king and year of his reign where these are known. It should be explained that the figures 1-10 on this plate are conventional numbers given to the numerous unnamed valleys which penetrate into the *massif* of Serâbî. It will be seen that the mines lie mainly at the heads of these valleys, occasionally running through the solid rock from one valley to the next. Thus the group of mines lettered A to E lies in the rock between valleys 2 and 3. For the details of the plan the reader should consult P. R., pp. 59-61, and Weill, *P.S.*, pp. 171-4.

Searching for Protosinaitic inscriptions the Harvard expedition of 1935 cleared entirely the Mine M, a detailed description of which by Starr can be found in *Studies and Documents*, vi, 26 ff. and his plans IV and V. Its shape is so irregular that it is clear that the work proceeded in a most haphazard way and was directed purely by guessing at the occurrence of turquoise. No props seem to have been used and such natural pillars as have been left are accidental owing to the fact that no stones were expected to be found at these particular spots. The excavated chips and rubbish were partly thrown out at the entrance, partly dumped inside the mine in the hollows which had been explored.

Quite different from the mines are open shallow quarries, a certain number of which can be noticed in the vicinity of the temple. From these stelae and building material for the temple were extracted, though the size of the quarries now visible could not account for the mass of the temple, and others, so far unknown, must be still buried. The Harvard expedition of 1935 completely cleared five of these quarries,* two of which had been converted by the Egyptians into shrines. One of them is the 'Rock Niche XV' of Petrie (see Pl. XCI for position) containing the inscriptions 51 and 52 of the reign of Ammenemes III.

SECTION 2. THE TEMPLE AND ITS APPROACH

THE object of this section is not to attempt a description of the temple, for this has already been excellently done in P. R., chaps. vi and vii.^b Our aim here is merely to make our Pls. XCI and XCII intelligible and to supplement Petrie's account, correcting it in one or two points where the study of the inscriptions renders this possible.

1. *The Approach*

The portion of the plateau of Serâbî shown on Pl. XCI is roughly that which on Pl. XC runs from the letter B in the word Bethels to the east end of the temple. The plan itself is taken directly

* STARR in *Studies and Documents*, vi, 15-20, and plans II and III.

^b See also R. F. S. STARR in *Studies and Documents*, vi,

3-15, for the parts of the temple cleared by the Harvard expedition in April 1935, that is Q to T, U to X, and the Shrine of Kings.

from WEILL, *P.S.*, carte 5, and does not appear in *P. R.*, though among the material handed over to us were a series of unfinished plans of this area. On the extreme right of the plan is seen the temple with its enclosure of stones. Leading up to it from the left, that is from the south-west, is the path followed by the explorers of 1905 in their daily walk to the temple from their camp in the Wâdy Umm Agraf. The 'Small Black Hill' marked in the middle of the plan is the outcrop of the iron and manganese bed which Lepsius mistook for copper slag.

The strip of land about a quarter of a mile in length shown in this plan to the south-west of the temple is referred to in this work as the Approach, since it seems clear from the stelae which dot its length that this was, if not the only, at least the ceremonial approach to the temple. At intervals along this Approach will be seen a number of the rough circular stone shelters to which Petrie has rightly or wrongly (see p. 48) given the name Bethels. The numbers given in Roman figures are reference numbers used by Weill in his plan to mark the positions of certain stelae, and indeed it was the correspondence of these numbers with those of certain of the copies handed over to us which made it possible before the inspection in 1935 to fix the position of most of the stelae in the Approach. The Arabic numerals refer to the numbers of the inscriptions in the present work. At points where there is a Roman numeral but no Arabic it is to be inferred that the stela which was found at the point in question was too much destroyed to be copied or that at any rate no copy has been preserved.

As the details of the Approach are not very fully treated in *P. R.* it may be well to reproduce here in its entirety the very clear description given by Weill (*P.S.*, pp. 175-6). Its south-west end is marked by a small elevated plateau whose crest is marked at I by a stela of Sesostris I (66).^a

The north west edge is completely covered with ruins of small buildings of loose stones, among which are to be seen, whole or in fragments, four stelae (II, III, IV, and V) with inscriptions mainly destroyed and impossible to date. [We have tentatively identified IV and V with 133 and 146 respectively.] Each stela had in front of it a rectangular space enclosed by a slight wall built of stones, and a large number of enclosures of the same type, but without stelae, are met with on the plateau.

VI and VII are inscribed stelae which have fallen; VI no longer shows anything legible, but VII is an attractive stela set up by Sisopdrou, Year 4 of Ammenemes IV [this is our 118]. On the opposite crest of the little plateau, overlooking the valley 3, stood a tall stela whose illegible remains strewn the ground at point VIII. This group of monuments passed, the ground falls slightly; we meet a certain number of enclosures without stelae,^b and finally reach, after passing the little ravine which cuts the modern path, a fresh group of inscribed stelae surrounded by enclosures. At Point IX is a stela of Sebekherhab [our 107].^c On the other side of the path rises a hill visible from a great distance owing to the dark colour of the haematite of which it is formed; its summit bore an enormous stela with the name of Senwosret I, which lies in pieces (at Point X) on the blackish gravel [our 82]. Close to the stela of Sebekherhab at IX lies broken on the ground at Point XI a stela of Year 4 of an unknown king, probably a Senwosret [our 73, dated to Ammenemes II], and at Points XII and XIII are found illegible fragments of similar stelae [XII is our 74]. A hundred metres to the north of this, at Point XIV, was a very tall stela, now fallen and too badly weathered to be dated [our 147].

Approaching the temple we now cross a second zone without monuments. To the right of the ruins, almost at the top of the hill, the tall still upright stela of Seti I [our 247, at Point XVI] attracts attention from a distance.^d Before reaching it we find on the right of the road in the side of the ridge, the entrance of a quarry (XV) with inscriptions in the rock [our 51 and 52] the most striking of which is of Year 38 of Ammenemes III [51]. At XVII just in front of the entrance to the temple lies on the ground a large stela of Setnakht [our 271]. Between the two New Empire stelae at XVI and XVII we find, round about Points XVIII and XIX,^e numerous remains of stelae and buildings with inscriptions.

The Harvard expedition of 1935 added from here records of stelae 403 and 404.

^a *P. R.*, fig. 77.

^b *P. R.*, figs. 81-84.

^c *P. R.*, figs. 78, 79, and 80.

^d *P. R.*, fig. 85.

^e *P. R.*, fig. 86.

2. *The Old Approach*

This title has been given, for reference purposes, to the long narrow area which lies along the whole north-west side of the temple, and is, in Pl. XCII, marked 'Original Approach to Sacred Cave'. As will be shown in the next division of this section the temple of the XIIth Dynasty consisted of nothing more than the two Sacred Caves, the Portico (S) with its Court, and possibly the Hall of Sopdu (V) with the Approach to Sopdu (W). At this date the general axis of the buildings ran nearly north-west and it was not until the XVIIIth Dynasty that considerations of ground led to an abandonment of the old plan and a twisting of the axis through what is almost a right angle. In these early days the natural way of obtaining access to the then temple was along the Old Approach, as is abundantly testified by the stelae of the XIIth Dynasty which mark the path. What proportion these form of the stelae which originally stood there it is impossible to say. Of those still remaining none is farther east than the North Door leading into the Court (P), a room certainly not earlier than the XVIIIth Dynasty. The building of this Court must have interfered with the end portion of the Old Approach and any stelae which stood there. It is tempting to believe that this part of the Old Approach was the source of some at least of the numerous stelae of the Middle Kingdom which were used to form the east wall of the Sanctuary (Q) in a reconstruction probably in early XVIIIth-Dynasty times.

It is difficult to see what can have been the exact relation to this Approach of the so-called Shrine of the Kings built either by Ammenemes III or his successor Ammenemes IV (not, as stated by Petrie,^a by Hatshepsut; see p. 129). This building seems to interrupt completely the path marked out by the line of stelae, and unless there was a free passage through the shrine, which is highly improbable, we must suppose that the Old Approach from this time forward ceased to be used for its original purpose. In this connexion it is worthy of notice that none of the stelae which are still in position in it are of later date than the 23rd year of Ammenemes III. That the Shrine was built later than this is obvious from the fact that the socket of a stela of this year (102) has been cut down at one side to fit into the west wall of the Shrine.^b It seems therefore probable that the history of the Old Approach as an approach ends with the construction of the Shrine of the Kings in the reigns of Ammenemes III and IV. For a description of it see P. R., pp. 82-85, and STARR, *Studies and Documents*, VI, 12-15.

3. *The Temple*

In the matter of description there is little to be added to the account given by Petrie (P. R., chaps. vi and vii). Nevertheless, the study of the inscriptions enables us to modify slightly in some cases, and very seriously in one case, his account of the history of the buildings. For this reason it will be advisable to review the architectural history of the temple at three different periods. Firstly under the XIIth Dynasty, secondly, under the XVIIIth, and thirdly, in the Ramesside age.

A. *The XIIth-Dynasty buildings*

The temple of the Middle Kingdom seems to have been a very modest affair. In the next section, in which the date of the monuments of Serâbît is dealt with, we shall show that there is no evidence that the Egyptians knew of the site or at least visited it earlier than the beginning of the XIIth Dynasty, and in any case there is no building there which can be dated earlier than this period.

^a P. R., p. 84.

^b P. R., p. 83.

The earliest dated object, if we except the very suspect hawk with the cartouche of Snofru (62), is the base of a statuette dedicated by Ammenemes I (63). From the presence of this we may safely infer that a shrine of some kind existed at this date, possibly nothing more than the Hathor cave (T). The earliest building which has left any trace is that of Sesostris I. A re-used lintel of his (64) was found in Room D, but unfortunately we have no means of tracing its original position. Ammenemes II must have reorganized or added to the buildings, for we have a slab of his (71) which clearly stood behind three statues, one of Ammenemes I and two of Sesostris I, one of these latter being in the form of a hawk (probably 69). It is not, however, until the reign of Ammenemes III that we find inscribed blocks actually in position, the only kind of evidence which enables us safely to attribute particular parts of the building to particular kings. In year 2 of this reign a certain Khenomso inscribed a scene on the pillar in the Hathor Cave (T), and it was perhaps in the same year that this official set up the altar (84) there. During the same reign another official, Ameny, left inscriptions on the walls of the Cave (94) and both this man and a certain Harurrē dedicated altars there (89 and 95). Moreover, Ameny is stated by Petrie to have inscribed the doorway leading southward from the Portico Court.^a This is a fact of the first importance for the history of the temple and it is a pity that this inscription (listed by us as 99) was not copied and that the evidence necessary to prove the assertion should be wanting.^b If it is correct great consequences follow. In the first place the Portico Court must have been built by or previous to Ammenemes III, a point on which we have no other evidence. And in the second place we cannot suppose that this door led merely out on to the hill; in other words there must have been rooms to the south of the Hathor Cave, and we can hardly avoid the inference that the Cave of Sopdu (U), with possibly the Hall of Sopdu (V) and its Approach (W), were already in existence at this date, although the arrangements of this part of the temple as we know them are the work of Tuthmosis III and Hatshepsut. This early date for the Sopdu complex would not be out of keeping with what we know of his worship at Serâbî, for he is first mentioned in the 42nd year of Ammenemes III at Maghârah (28)^c and enjoyed a great vogue at Serâbî under Ammenemes IV. Moreover it is shown below that the so-called Shrine of the Kings attributed by Petrie to Hatshepsut was in reality founded under the XIIth Dynasty, in the reign of Ammenemes III and in that of his successor Ammenemes IV, as a chapel to Hathor, Ptah, Sopdu, and Snofru. There is therefore very good reason for supposing that the Cave of Sopdu received attention at the same time.

Quite apart from inscriptions on the actual fabric of the temple, continuous activity at Serâbî during the whole of the reign of Ammenemes III is attested by a number of free-standing stelae on the site. Ammenemes IV continued work on the building, for he inscribed the walls of the Portico (S), (127), perhaps already built by his father, apart from decorating the Shrine of the Kings. It is even possible that the XIIth Dynasty saw the addition of the Sanctuary (Q), for two inscriptions of this date (149 and 151) are assigned to that room, though on somewhat dubious authority.









At the end of the Dynasty, then, the temple consisted of at least the Hathor Cave and the Portico, with the possible addition of the Sanctuary and the Sopdu rooms.

Outside the temple itself, however, in the Old Approach a very important addition had certainly been made, the so-called Shrine of the Kings. This has been assigned by Petrie to the reign of Hatshepsut, but this attribution rests on errors which must now be removed. Petrie's statement is as follows (P. R., p. 84): 'The subjects [of the scenes in the shrine] are the early kings Sneferu and

^a P. R., p. 105.

^b It was not seen there in 1935.

^c The inscription is possibly due to Ameny himself.

Ammenemes III, Hatshepsut, and the divinities Sopdu and Hathor. The inscriptions mention the honouring of Sneferu by Hatshepsut, and give a long account of the founding of the shrine by that queen; also a long recital of all the offerings that were to be made.' The facts on which this is based are as follows. Inscriptions, two of them with scenes, 123 A, 123 B, 124-5, and 108, were found on the walls of the Shrine. The first, as is evident from its opening lines, was set up by Ammenemes IV and records his building of the Shrine, called a *ḥ*, and the various offerings made there. In line 2 of 123 B occurs in a damaged context the name of a monarch whose cartouche is worn and has given some trouble to the copyist of the expedition. It contains three signs; the first is , the second was given by the copyist in dotted outline and did, it is true, seem to bear some resemblance to the seated figure of Ma'at , while the third has been read as an imperfectly made . It was tempting to read the whole as the cartouche of Hatshepsut , but the first editors of the inscription already saw that this attribution was impossible. And, indeed, the inspection of the original in 1935 confirmed that the last sign of the cartouche was a  and that the lacuna between this and  ended with a vertical sign. It cannot therefore be doubted that this cartouche too belongs to Ammenemes IV. The second inscription, 124, was, as portion (b) shows, cut in the reign of Ammenemes III, from which it seems that his successor was somewhat exaggerating when he claimed to have built the chapel, which in some form must have existed before his time. The scenes of 124 show the king himself, Ammenemes III, and the deities Hathor, Ptah, Sopdu, and Snofru. So far we have found no mention of Hatshepsut; but there is a further point to be considered. The scenes in 125 show the deities Hathor, Ptah, Sopdu, and Snofru together with a king whose cartouche was given in the copies of the expedition variously as  and  but the revision in 1935 revealed that the cartouche had been in both cases miscopied and that the name was that of Ammenemes IV, *Msc-ḥrw-r*.

Thus the Shrine of the Kings is to be attributed to the Middle Kingdom, having probably been built by Ammenemes III and completed by Ammenemes IV.

B. *The temple under the XVIIIth Dynasty*

The XVIIIth Dynasty saw a complete change in the form and direction of the temple. The original axis had lain west-north-west and east-south-east. To have continued building in the old direction would have been difficult, for it would have led the builders on to the slope of the hill. The axis was therefore turned through a considerable angle and all later additions to the temple were made on this new orientation, west-south-west and east-north-east.

Under Amenophis I some restorations were made in the older portion, for he inscribed the lintel of the Cave (172) and an architrave in the Portico (perhaps 173), and Starr^a is probably right when he suggests that the Portico in its present state is due to Amenophis I. But the first fresh building of which we have evidence is that of the Hathor Ḥanafiyah (Z), Chambers O and N, and the pylon, all of which are due to Tuthmosis III and Hatshepsut (194, 196, and 197). It is obvious that when these were built the Sanctuary (Q), the Court (P), and the Lesser Ḥanafiyah (X) must already have been in existence. The Sanctuary, as we have previously seen, may have been built in the XIIth Dynasty, though this is very uncertain, but we have not a particle of evidence as to the builder of the Court; the Lesser Ḥanafiyah, too, does not reveal its original date, though its later form is due to Ramesses II (258). Still, that something existed here in the XVIIIth Dynasty is clear from the fact that a doorway was then made leading from the Hathor Ḥanafiyah (Z) in this direction.

^a *Studies and Documents*, vi, 9.

To Tuthmosis III must also be assigned Chamber M on the ground of Petrie's statement (*P. R.*, p. 79) that over the doorway leading into it from the west was a lintel of Tuthmosis III. We have, however, been unable to identify this with any of the inscriptions of this king handed over to us, and, further, it seems unlikely that he should have set up an insignificant chamber in front of his own imposing pylon, at the same time building into its walls his two great stelae (175 and 176). Chamber L is also assigned by Petrie (*loc. cit.*) to Tuthmosis III whose cartouches are found, he says, on its walls with one of Tuthmosis IV 'added later'. No inscription with the cartouche of Tuthmosis III marked as coming from this room was found amongst our material.

To Tuthmosis III and Hatshepsut may safely be assigned, however, the internal decoration of the Hall of Sopdu (182-4) though, as we have seen, the original building may have been earlier. Chamber K was begun by Amenophis II (206) and finished by Tuthmosis IV (207), who also built Chamber J (209). The date of F, G, and H is unknown, though they are not later than the reign of Amenophis III who built E and D (213, 214, and *P. R.*, p. 77). Chamber C, too, must be assigned to this king whose two great stelae stood in front of it in the space which afterwards became Chamber B.

Such then was the temple at the end of the XVIIIth Dynasty. On the new axis a long series of rooms had been built, a series broken only by the pylon of Tuthmosis III, and ending with Room C which, with the two imposing stelae of Amenophis III before it, formed the entrance to the temple at the end of the Dynasty.

C. *The temple of the Ramesside period*

Very few additions were made to the temple buildings after the end of the XVIIIth Dynasty. Chamber B gives no indication of date and the lintel of Ramesses II found there must be a reconstruction, since the next and last room, Chamber A, was already built under Sethos I (249).

Though little building was done in this period repairs and reconstructions seem to have been fairly constant. Among the most important we may mention the inscription by Ramesses II of the pillars of the Lesser Hanaḏiyah (258), the recutting of the scenes on the pylon by Sethos II (269), and the work of Ramesses IV in the Sanctuary (278-80, 282, and 287). The last king who left his name in the building was Ramesses VI (290-3).

SECTION 3. DATE AND NATURE OF THE MONUMENTS

IT has already been noted that the period of Egyptian mining activity at Serâbîṭ begins only with or just before the XIIth Dynasty, at the time when the mines of Maghârah were falling into disuse. We must suppose that at about this date the supplies of turquoise at Maghârah had begun to run dry (though they are not even today completely exhausted) and that the discovery of more promising sites at Serâbîṭ had already been made. It is true that in the temple at Serâbîṭ a marble hawk with the cartouche of Snofru of the IVth Dynasty was found, and that Petrie believes this to be a contemporary monument of that king. Nevertheless, as this is the sole Egyptian monument on the site of earlier date than the XIIth Dynasty, we are forced to ask ourselves whether this portable object, if really dating from the IVth Dynasty, cannot have been brought hither at a later date, or whether indeed it is not a later offering to the king who so indelibly impressed his personality upon Sinai (see p. 83).

A statue dedicated presumably by Sesostri I (70) shows us the figures of four seated kings, the

dedicator, his father Ammenemes I, the founder of the Dynasty, and Nebhepetrê and Se'ankhkherê, two of the most powerful of the Mentuhotep's of the XIth Dynasty. It would be illogical to argue from this piece of evidence that Nebhepetrê and Se'ankhkherê had sent expeditions to Sinai, but it does suggest the possibility of this. It would not be in the least surprising if these kings, who did so much to reform Egypt after the chaos and probable foreign invasion of the VIIth to Xth Dynasties, had been the first to re-open the old route to the turquoise mines of Sinai. As, however, they have left no record of such an expedition we must be content to leave the matter open.

The inscriptions and additions to the temple buildings carry us without a break through the XIIth Dynasty to the reign of its last great king, Ammenemes IV, where they appear to break off. Of the whole of the Later Intermediate Period, XIIIth to XVIIth Dynasties, there is no trace, and the series is not taken up until the coming of the founder of the XVIIIth Dynasty, Amosis I, who dedicated some small objects in the temple (171). From here onwards to the reign of Ramesses VI of the XXth Dynasty the dedication of small offerings, the adding of fresh rooms to the temple, and the setting up of record stelae continue with little or no interruption. Of periods later than the XXth Dynasty there is no record whatsoever.

Serâbît. Nature of the monuments

While at Maghârah the monuments are practically all of the same type, namely, records of expeditions inscribed on slabs of living rock, at Serâbît a much greater variety presents itself. This is due to the nature of the site. At Maghârah the workings lay in one side of a single valley. At Serâbît they lay round the edges of a striking plateau, where a temple was built and the 'mistress of the turquoise' was worshipped, together with the god Sopdu. Accordingly the inscriptions are of the most varied nature. We may divide them into four classes: (1) inscriptions on rock at or near the entrance to mines; (2) inscriptions on the actual fabric of the temple buildings; (3) inscriptions on free-standing stelae; (4) inscriptions on small objects found in the temple. These must now be dealt with in detail.

1. Mine inscriptions

These are in the main royal inscriptions, that is to say they are set up in the king's name, but the leader of the expedition has in most cases managed to intrude his own claims very prominently. They are no longer the magnificent reliefs which we saw at Maghârah representing the king overthrowing his enemy, for the most typical and earliest contain no scenes at all but bear merely an inscription relating to the particular gallery whose opening they celebrate (47, 48, and 53). Nos. 56 (Ammenemes III) and 58 (Tuthmosis IV) show us the king offering to the goddess, and in the latter case he is accompanied by the leader of the expedition. In four cases (53, 54, 56, and 58) the rock above the inscription is cut into a simply moulded cornice.

2. Inscriptions on the temple fabric

As in most temples, so here, almost every available square inch seems to have been covered with scenes or inscriptions. These are of perfectly normal types. On the larger wallspaces we find repeated over and over again scenes showing the king offering to one or other of the gods, generally Hathor. The inscriptions which generally accompany these scenes are of the usual devotional type and their only abnormality lies in the extent to which the personal names of officials have been allowed to appear in them. Thus on the great pylon of Tuthmosis III (194) where the king is depicted offering to Hathor we see him accompanied by two of his officials Sennefer and Kenena. Similarly the pillars

of the Hall of Sopdu and the Hathor Ḥanafīyah (184 and 191) are covered with the name of Nakht, the official who set them up. This abnormality is very easily explained. Far away from Egypt in the heart of Sinai the leader of the expedition was supreme, and here he had, and took full advantage of, a freedom from the Pharaoh's supervision, which he could never have hoped to enjoy in Egypt, to belaud himself to the full.

The smaller architectural features of the temple, door-jambs, lintels, architraves, &c., are, as usual, covered with decorative arrangements of the titularies of the various kings who set them up. This is so to such an extent that it is possible, with care, to trace from them the whole history of the building of the temple.

3. *Inscriptions on free-standing stelae*

These fall naturally into two classes, (a) the great stelae commemorating the various expeditions, and (b) the small funerary stelae found in the temple.

Class (a) includes the majority of the large stelae found in the stone enclosures of the Main Approach to the temple and in the Old Approach to the Sacred Cave (see Pl. XCI), together with a number originally standing free, but now built into the temple walls, and a few actually set up in conspicuous positions in the temple itself. The size and style of these vary slightly. The finest are those of the Middle Kingdom. At this period the commonest type is a round topped stela of from 6 to 8 feet in height, 2 feet in breadth, and often a foot in thickness. The east face generally contains the dating and the royal titulary, usually arranged in an elaborate and decorative form. On the west face is usually found some record of the expedition, varying from an elaborate discussion of the discomforts of mining in the hot season (90) to a mere list of names of members of the party (85). On the two edges we see as a rule the name and titles of the leader of the expedition, arranged in each case in either one or two vertical lines (e.g. 87). The later commemorative stelae, those of the XVIIIth to XXth Dynasties, are less imposing, for they no longer have the thickness and consequent solidity of the older stelae, and are inscribed on one face only. At the top is a scene depicting the king offering to the deities and below this, usually in horizontal lines, is an inscription containing the royal titulary and occasionally some slight record of the expedition. Its leader has in some cases still managed to crowd in some reference to himself, and occasionally even his own figure (196).

This is perhaps the best place in which to say a few words regarding the state of preservation of the free-standing stelae. It will be obvious to anyone who scrutinizes the copies that it is invariably the east sides of these monuments which have suffered most. The destruction is caused by the fine sand of the plateau being continually set in motion by the east wind which prevails at Serâbîl el-Khâdim. The exposed eastern sides of the stelae are thus hammered by sand that, in the course of centuries, large hollows have been produced so that, in places, the inscriptions have been almost entirely obliterated. The bases of the monuments, which were generally buried in sand or rubbish up to a certain height, have, of course, suffered little, but from a few inches above the new ground-level the action of the sand has gradually thinned the stelae to such an extent that the upper parts, which were less severely affected, at last became top-heavy. Breakages then occurred at the thinned-out points and the upper parts often split into fragments in their violent contact with the ground. Thus relatively few stelae are found still standing, but of those that are it is quite certain that their days are numbered, and that nothing short of removal can save them.

No. 405, which was used in early times as building material for a wall, shows that the figures and inscriptions of these stelae were originally coloured.

The small stelae of class (b) differ in no way from the ordinary funerary stelae found in Egyptian cemeteries. On them we see an Egyptian making an offering before some god with the usual *hṭp-di-nsw* prayer inscribed beneath. Occasionally some reference to the expedition is also made (276 and 308). We need not for a moment assume that the persons in whose name these small stelae were inscribed were dead at the time of their setting up, even though they are sometimes described as *mꜣr hrw* (☐). The same formula occasionally occurs on the great commemorative stelae of the Middle Kingdom (e.g. 105, S. face) and we may suppose that in later times, when there was less space to spare on the royal monument for the use of members of the expedition, they adopted the system of dedicating for themselves a funerary tablet of the ordinary pattern, in the hope that Hathor of the distant Serâbît would not be forgetful of them after their death.

4. *Small objects with inscriptions*

These include a few inscribed altars of the XIIth Dynasty and the numerous statues which were found in the temple. The vast majority of the small objects, however, consists of the innumerable bracelets, rings, sistra, plaques, &c., dedicated here by almost every king from Amosis I onwards, of which an excellent account is given in P. R., chap. x. The inscriptions upon them consist generally of nothing more than part of the titulary of the king, with occasionally some mention of Hathor, to whom the objects were dedicated. For an account of the actual bringing of such objects for the goddess by an expedition see no. 112.

SECTION 4. THE DEITIES NAMED AT SERÂBÎT

I. *Hathor*

WHILE at Maghârah Thoth seems to have assumed a paramount importance, at Serâbît the claims of Hathor are supreme. It may well be that she is merely the Egyptian equivalent for some local goddess^a whom the Egyptians found installed on the site at their first arrival; or it may be, on the other hand, that some more general connexion with the Red Sea^b led to her being chosen by the Egyptians as the patroness of Serâbît. In view of the lack of reference to her in early times at Maghârah the former is perhaps the more probable suggestion. This view has had a warm champion in Miss Eckenstein who, in her article on 'Moon-cult in Sinai',^c advances the view that before ever the Egyptians came to Serâbît the cave on the plateau was under the protection of a female divinity 'the representative of nature worship and one of the numerous forms of Ishthar'. We have evidence from Semitic and Greek sources that a moon-cult existed in Sinai, and Miss Eckenstein thinks that when the Egyptians came to Serâbît they identified the local patron goddess with their own Hathor precisely because of the connexion of Hathor with the moon-cult in Egypt itself. This view may be correct, though owing to our almost complete ignorance of the origin and nature of Hathor worship in Egypt it must be regarded as hypothetical.



The representations of the goddess in Serâbît differ in no way from those usual in Egypt. She is always shown wearing the cow's horns enclosing the solar disk. The titles given to her are, however, peculiar to the place. In most cases she is described as '*lady of the turquoise*' (in some early cases '*lady of the turquoise-land*'), while in one example, 102, she is also '*lady of the lapis lazuli*'. In this case the two titles 'Mistress of the Turquoise' and 'Mistress of the Lapis Lazuli' are balanced



^a As she certainly is for the local Ba'alat at Byblos, see ERMAN, *Die Religion der Ägypter*, p. 349.

^b Compare the connexion of Hathor with Punt.

^c *Ancient Egypt*, 1914, pp. 9 ff.






against one another on opposite edges of the face of the stela, and we should give to the occurrence of the lapis no local value. In the Egyptian mind it was closely associated with turquoise as a precious substance (see p. 9) and she who was mistress of the one could readily be thought of as also mistress of the other.




A more interesting title is that of  'lady of good colour', which occurs four times, **312**, **129 A** (incomplete), **124 (a)** (miscopied), and **126**. The solution lies in the references to  in the great Harwerre^c stela (**90**) which show that what is meant is the 'good colour' of the turquoise, the unstable colour being the chief characteristic of this stone (see p. 8).

The only other titles given to the goddess at Serâbîṭ are  'lady of Atfiḥ' (**313**), which merely refers to her local cult at Aphroditopolis in Egypt, and  'she who is in the midst of the land of Djadja' (**120**).

2. Sopdu

After Hathor the deity next in importance at Serâbîṭ was Sopdu. His cave lay by the side of hers, and both the Cave and the Hall and Approach in front of it were probably in use as early as the XIIth Dynasty. Whether he replaced an earlier local god whose sanctuary lay in this cave we have no means of knowing.

It has always been assumed that the appearance of Sopdu in Sinai was to be explained by the fact that he was the god of the Arabian nome of the delta, the nome from which one naturally set out when going to Sinai and where the returning Egyptian first beheld again his native land. There is, however, just a possibility that this explanation may be a reversal of the facts, and that the connexion of Sopdu with the Arabian nome may be due to the fact that he was a god of Sinai or elsewhere in the East. Now it has been shown^a that the town , long read *gsm* and equated with Goshen, is in reality to be read *ššmt* and is another name for  'house of Sopdu', capital of the Arabian nome and the modern Şaft el-Ḥenneh. Moreover, Sopdu, the god of the nome, wears an apron known as  *ššmt*, and in one text^b is described as 'lord of the land of *ššmt*' . There is, further, a green mineral called *ššmt*  which is mentioned in our inscription **200** as a product of Sinai.^c Putting all these facts together we are forced to face the possibility that *ššmt* was an early name for Sinai, and that *ššmt*, the name of the mineral found there, and *ššmt* the name of the apron worn there, were derived from it. If Sopdu were a god of Sinai we may suppose that he gave his name to that nome of Egypt from which men started out for Sinai, his land. Thus the capital was called at first 'house of Sopdu' and later *ššmt*, the name of his original home. On the other hand, this possibility is not the only one. We might equally well suppose that Sopdu was the original god of the Arabian nome, worshipped at Per-Sopdu, that this is the cause of his association with Sinai (the old belief) and that owing to this association the name *ššmt* later came to be given to Per-Sopdu. Between these two views we have at present no means of deciding.

In our texts at Sinai Sopdu is almost invariably described as  'lord of the east'; once only (**115 S.**) his name is given as  'Sopdu of the foreign lands', perhaps an error for *Spdw nb ḥšwt* 'Sopdu, lord of the foreign lands'. The identification of the name Sopdu with the Hebrew *shophet*^d and the consequences which might be made to follow must be regarded as wild fantasy. It is far more probable that the origin of the name is to be seen in the epithet , 'sharp', applied

^a By Gardiner, *JEA* 5, 218 ff.

^b BIRCH, *Catalogue . . . of the Egyptian Antiquities at Almoick Castle*, pl. iv, and from there *JEA* 5, 222.

^c *ššmt* is almost certainly malachite. On this stone and the

other words *šsm* or *šsm* see NEWBERRY in *Griffith Studies*, pp. 316-23.

^d *Ancient Egypt*, 1917, pp. 103 ff.

to the teeth of this god in the Pyramid Texts.^a Sopdu seems very early to have been identified with Horus. He is frequently depicted as a crouching falcon, and also has the attribute 'lord of the foreign lands', which belongs to Horus. Moreover, in the Pyramid Texts Horus often bears the epithet *šmty* which we have seen may well refer to Sinai.

In Sinai Sopdu is usually depicted as a god in human form, bearded, with a wig tied by a ribbon at the back, and wearing the two tall feathers, symbolical perhaps of his eastern connexion. In one inscription only, the much destroyed 328, he appears in the guise of a hawk.

3. Other gods

Of the numerous other deities who occur on the monuments of Serâbîṭ few, perhaps only three, have any local significance in Sinai. Of these the most important is Thoth, whose prominence here may perhaps be due to his connexion with the moon-cult in Egypt.^b With his worship are certainly connected the various statues of baboons found in the temple (e.g. 217 and 285) both inscribed and uninscribed. The titles 'lord of foreign lands' (10), 'lord of Punt' (263), and $\text{𓏏} \text{𓏏} \text{𓏏}$ (in the pyramid temple of Sahurê)^c tend to show that in the Egyptian mind he was, if not actually regarded as foreign in origin, at least readily connected with foreign countries.^d

The other two gods who have a local significance at Serâbîṭ are the deified King Snofru, for whom see p. 83, and Semseru, who is possibly to be identified with King Smerkhēt (Semempses) (p. 53).

It would serve no useful purpose to give here an account or even a summary of the remainder of the deities mentioned at Serâbîṭ, since a complete index is given at the end of the volume. Setting aside Hathor and Sopdu, who are prominent at every period, the selection of the other deities doubtless depended mainly on two circumstances, firstly, the date, and secondly, the home of the dedicator, in the case of private monuments. Thus in the XIIth Dynasty Ptah is prominent both in royal and in private inscriptions, while in the XVIIIth Amūn outstrips him in popularity, and in all periods, especially later, when the dedication of small private stelae became more common, we find a diversity of deities just as wide as that of the localities in Egypt from which the members of the expeditions were drawn. Where any of these deities by reason of their rarity or for some other cause seemed to demand special notice a note has been made on the text. Here reference will be made only to two who seem to bulk more largely in Sinai in the XIIth Dynasty than one might have expected from their rarity in Egypt. These are Khentekhtay $\text{𓏏} \text{𓏏} \text{𓏏} \text{𓏏} \text{𓏏}$ and Kherty $\text{𓏏} \text{𓏏}$.

Khentekhtay^e occurs on four monuments, 120, 122, 166, and 423. The first two are stelae dated to the reign of Ammenemes IV, the third is an offering table certainly to be attributed to the Middle Kingdom and the fourth is on a stela of New Kingdom date. On the first two he is depicted as a god with human body and the head of a hawk or falcon, above which are the disk and double feathers. In all cases he is described as $\text{𓏏} \text{𓏏} \text{𓏏}$ 'lord of Athribis'. The god appears to be a form of Horus worshipped in Athribis under two forms, that of a black^f bull, obviously the original god of

^a Pyr. 201d; see SETHE, *Urgeschichte und älteste Religion der Ägypter*, p. 15 and n. 3.

^b See *Ancient Egypt*, 1914, pp. 9-11.

^c BORCHARDT, *Grabdenkmal des Königs Sahurê-rer*, II, pl. 8.

^d He was considered, in the New Kingdom at least, as creator of languages (*JEA* 34, 121-2) of which he was the divine interpreter (GARDINER, *PSBA* 39 [1917], 134).

^e For full information see *Sphinx*, 7, 35-44; *Rec. trav.* 29 (1907), 53-54; *ZAS* 40, 144-5; DARESSY, *Statues de divinités*

(CCG), p. 174; LANZONE, *Diz. di mitol.*, pp. 570 and 574; KEES, *Der Götterglaube im alten Ägypten*, 16, n. 4; 205; 404, n. 1; BONNET, *Reallexikon der äg. Religionsgeschichte*, 131 ff.

^f Cf. the personal name *Ki-m-Kmwy*, 'Bull in Athribis', no. 85 W., right; other examples of the same name in RANKE, 338, 3 and 13. For the bull-god 'Great Black One' see E. OTTO, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Stierkulte in Ägypten*, pp. 32-33.

the nome, and that of a crocodile. That this latter form is early is clear from the use of the crocodile as determinative of the god in a theophorous proper name of the Old Kingdom.^a

Kherty occurs on two monuments, 120 and 212. The first of these dates from the reign of Ammenemes IV and the second from that of Amenophis III. In 120 the figure of the god is undamaged; he has a human body with ram's head, surmounted by ram's horns, serpent, and twin feathers. He is described as 'lord of Saby(?)'. In 212 the figure is much worn but clearly shows the ram's head and horns with the feathers; the name is lost.

Very little is known about this god.^b In the Pyramid Texts we find (Pyr. 1308) 'the chin of Piōpey is ', 'Kherty, chief of Sekhem', and even earlier than this we find a priest of Kherty, but under circumstances which give no guide to the locality of the worship. However, in the late papyrus of Lake Moeris^c we find 'Horus, lord of Letopolis', represented as a seated ram with an upright feather between the horns, and there can be little doubt that Kherty is a ram-like form of Horus worshipped in the Letopolite nome. This is confirmed by the fact that from Ausîm in that nome comes a fragment on which a ram is depicted.^d In late times Kherty is also depicted under the form of a lion. Thus in L. D., III, 277 a we find on the sarcophagus of Hor, and it is under this guise that the god appears in the temples of Ombos and Edfu.

Personal names which contain the god's name are infrequent. We have two examples from Sinai, (39 and 85 W., left half) and others are quoted in RANKE, 277, 9. IO. II. 12; 284, 7; 293, 2.

Before leaving the subject of the deities worshipped at Serâbîṭ it is necessary to deal with the very interesting suggestion made by Petrie (P. R., chap. xiii) to the effect that the ritual was of a Semitic nature. He holds that Hathor is no more than a form under which the Egyptians worshipped at Serâbîṭ a Semitic goddess associated with the locality and its inhabitants, and he even suggests that this goddess was the Semitic Ishtar or Ashtaroth. Unfortunately we know nothing about the origin of the Egyptian Hathor except that she was already a member of the Egyptian Pantheon at the beginning of the Ist Dynasty, for she appears on the Narmer slate palette not only in the horned heads which decorate the top of the palette but also in the beads which form the girdle of the king. The part she plays in the story of the Destruction of Mankind (Tomb of Sethos I), a story obviously much more ancient than the date at which it is first known to us, shows that she occupied an important and early place in the mythology of the country. In the lack of evidence as to her nature and origin there is, *a priori*, nothing impossible in the supposition that in Sinai she is the Egyptian representative of a local Sinaitic goddess of Semitic origin. But Petrie goes beyond this. He asserts



FIG. 1. Seal of an official of King Menkauhor, mentioning the god Kherty (see note b).

^a MARIETTE, *Mastabas*, p. 315. A different and less likely explanation is given by HOFFMANN, *Die theophoren Personennamen des älteren Ägyptens*, p. 15.

^b See *Sphinx*, 7, 33; SETHÉ, *Urgeschichte und älteste Religion der Ägypter*, p. 8 and note; KEES, *Der Götterglaube im alten Ägypten*, pp. 79, n. 5, 137, 269, n. 1; BONNET, *Reallexikon der äg. Religionsgeschichte*, p. 135. We think it advisable to rescue from oblivion the seal of an official of King Menkauhor which belonged formerly to Capt. Rutherford Warren, Addison Road, London, and mentioning the god Kherty (see accompanying fig. 1 twice the size of the original). It is of red earthy wax, much thumbled and somewhat distorted, with rounded surface.

^c LANZONE, *Les papyrus du Lac Moeris*, pl. v.

^d *Rec. trav.* 26 (1904), 148.

that the worship carried on by the Egyptians at Serâbît was of a pronounced Semitic character, and in support of this hypothesis he adduces four practices which he believes to have been in vogue at Serâbît, all of which are, he avers, not only Semitic but also un-Egyptian. They are as follows:

1. The offering of burnt sacrifices on high places.
2. The dedication of conical stones.
3. An elaborate ceremonial of ablutions.
4. The practice of visiting sacred places for the purpose of obtaining oracular dreams, and the setting up of memorial stones on the spot where the dream occurred.

Now in order for Petrie to prove his case he had to demonstrate three points with regard to each of these four practices, firstly, that the practice was actually in use at Serâbît, secondly, that the practice is Semitic, and thirdly, that it is un-Egyptian. The second point we may dismiss at once, for all four practices can be paralleled from the ritual of Semitic religion. With regard to the other two points we are not in agreement with Petrie and we must therefore examine all four practices in detail.

1. *The offering of burnt sacrifices in high places.* That this practice was in vogue at Serâbît is nothing more than an assumption from the fact that under a considerable portion of the later part of the temple, extending roughly from Chamber O to Chamber E, a bed of clean white ash was found, containing nothing but pieces of pottery of XIIth-Dynasty types. Petrie states that the amount of ash still present is more than 50 tons and that before denudation took place it must have amounted to some hundreds of tons.

This ash bed, which lies (as a glance at Pl. XCII will show) in front of the XIIth-Dynasty portions of the temple, represents for Petrie the remains of burnt sacrifices over long periods. He quite rightly rejects the possibility that the ashes were the result of smelting operations^a or of the burning of plants to extract alkali, and adds that in a Semitic burnt sacrifice, where all that was not consumed by the fire must be eaten by the worshippers, one must not expect to find any remains of the animals sacrificed. To us, however, these ashes have a much more prosaic explanation,^b most unaccountably rejected by Petrie. The numerous members of the expeditions required feeding, indeed in some cases they brought their special cooks with them (85),^c and we further shrewdly suspect that, since the expeditions were purposely made in the winter, they also required warming during the bitter cold of the night. We would suggest therefore that in the XIIth Dynasty the quarters of the expedition were in front of the then temple, and that these ashes represent nothing more than the remains of camp fires. At a later date this area had to be given over to the erection of new temple buildings, and the ground was cleared and levelled, with the result that a bed of ashes now lies under the temple over the whole of that old area. The occurrence of fragments of pottery among the ashes agrees quite as well, if not better, with our supposition as with that of burnt sacrifice, while the absence of bones (if indeed the expedition lived on animal food at all) has been explained by Petrie himself, who remarks that in his own camp all bones were removed by dogs and hyenas so effectively that no remains were ever to be seen.

Petrie's burnt sacrifices are therefore a pure assumption, and in our opinion an unjustifiable one. Even were it correct it would still be necessary to show that burnt sacrifice was an un-Egyptian

^a See on this point a somewhat acrimonious controversy between Petrie and Campbell Thompson in *Man*, 1905, nos. 54, 64, 73, and 104.

^b Rightly advanced by CAMPBELL THOMPSON, *Man*, 1905, no. 73.

^c A brewer occurs in 406.

rite. It is true that in the Egyptian temple reliefs representations of burnt sacrifice are of extremely rare occurrence. We have, however, a certain amount of evidence for the use of burnt sacrifice in Egypt in later times. Junker^a has dealt with the question of the burnt offering in the Ptolemaic and Roman periods, when separate joints were consumed in the fire. Here the animals represent enemies of the god, and the flesh of the joint was not used as food for the god, but utterly consumed to signify the destruction of the enemy. Junker adds that the few instances known of whole burnt sacrifices take place only on special occasions and not in the temples. He adds that there is little evidence for the practice of burnt offerings in the earlier temple cult and no hint as to its significance. Nevertheless, a certain amount of pictorial evidence from tombs puts the existence of burnt offerings beyond any doubt even in earlier periods^b and we may point to the Sinai stela no. 235 where an offerer holds out two tall braziers each of which holds a trussed goose in flames. Still more significant is the fact that as early as the XIIth Dynasty the Egyptians possessed a word for burnt sacrifice, sb-n-sdt ,^c which has survived into Coptic in the form sb-n-sdt , the Greek δολοκαύτωμα . Thus the shipwrecked sailor's first thought on being cast up on an island is to take a fire-stick, make fire, and offer a burnt offering to the gods.^d In conclusion we feel compelled to protest most strongly against Petrie's adducing among his three sole references to burnt sacrifice in Egypt 'the revolution in Egyptian worship by Khufu, when "he forbade them to offer sacrifice", and substituted burnt offerings of clay models.'^e The inference he appears to draw is that in early Egypt burnt sacrifice had been the custom, but that it was forbidden by Khufu of the IVth Dynasty, and so was absent in later Egypt. Herodotus, who is responsible for the anecdote about Khufu, says nothing to justify such wide conclusions. What he does say^f is that Khufu 'plunged into all manner of wickedness. He closed the temples and forbade the Egyptians to offer sacrifice [$\text{πρῶτα μὲν σφας θυσίων τουτέων ἀπέρξαι}$] compelling them instead to labour, one and all, in his service.' In other words the legend is merely to the effect that Khufu closed the temples in order that the whole population might concentrate on the labour of building his pyramid. To regard this as a religious revolution, and to read into it the suppression of burnt sacrifice in particular, is without justification. Petrie's attempt to connect this tradition with his finding, in the pre-VIth-Dynasty stratum of the old Abydos temple^g, a cell or enclosure containing ashes mixed with numerous little twists of burnt clay, built over an older bed of black ash, must be regarded as the merest speculation. Whatever the nature of the burnt objects here, however, we should like to quote his own words, 'It must therefore be a hearth of burnt offering' as against his claim that burnt sacrifice is un-Egyptian.

The conclusion of our argument, therefore, is firstly, that there is no good reason for supposing the ash bed at Serâbî to be due to anything other than the necessities of every-day existence, and secondly, that even if it could be proved to be connected with sacrifice there is very good reason for believing that burnt sacrifice was known to the Egyptians long before the period at which its occurrence could be explained away by Syrian contamination. Had burnt sacrifice occupied at Serâbî the prominent position which Petrie would have us suppose it is remarkable that none of the representations in the temple shows any trace of it. His further argument, based on the fact that Serâbî

^a *ÄZ* 48, 69 ff.

^b Conveniently summarized by BONNET, *Reallexikon der äg. Religionsgeschichte*, pp. 123-5. The burnt offerings must be distinguished from ceremonies in which food was only cooked, JUNKER, *Miscellanea Gregoriana*, pp. 109 ff. Much evidence for burnt offerings in the New Kingdom is found in SCHOTT, *Das schöne Fest vom Wüstentale* (*Akademie der Wiss. und der Lit. in Mainz*), pp. 12-31.

^c See examples in *Wb.* III, 430, 19, and ERMAN, *ÄZ* 48, 36, adding PLEYTE-ROSSI, *Pap. de Turin*, pl. 64, a, 3 (a damaged reference to a *sb-[n-sdt]* of birds, XXth Dynasty).

^d Shipwrecked Sailor, ll. 55-56.

^e *P. R.*, p. 189.

^f *Hdt.* II, 124.

^g PETRIE, *Abydos*, II, 9-10.

was a high place and that in the Semitic ritual burnt sacrifices were commonly made in high places, can be readily dismissed. The temple of Hathor was set on the plateau of SerâbîT simply because it was in the stratum which forms the top edge of the plateau that the turquoise mines lay, and because the plateau, besides being in the very heart of the mines, offered a suitable spot for a building. The sacrifices were made there because the shrine was there, and the fact that the place was a high place was the purest accident.

2. *The dedication of conical stones.* In the temple were found two cones of sandstone alike in shape and size. The sizes are not given, but judging from the plate (P. R., pl. 143), the scales of the objects on which are said to vary from $\frac{1}{4}$ to $\frac{1}{8}$, the height should be between 6 and 9 inches. There seems to be some uncertainty as to where they were found, for on page 135 they are said to have come from the Shrine of Sopdu, while on page 189 we are told that they were found 'in the Sacred Cave or the Portico'.

Now it is true that conical stones of this type are used in certain forms of Syrian ritual to represent the deity, and it is also true that we have no parallel to the use of such stones in Egypt itself. On the other hand, it has always been tempting to archaeologists to attribute a 'ritual significance' to objects whose use they were at a loss to explain. Oddly enough one of the most enlightening instances of this occurred in connexion with the very similar conical stones found in the various megalithic buildings of Malta and in particular in the Halsafîeni hypogeum. The stones had hitherto been regarded as baetyls and all kinds of inferences had been drawn from the supposed baetylic nature of this early Maltese worship. But in the floors of the hypogeum are occasionally found pairs of holes not more than a foot apart communicating with one another by a short tunnel. One pair of these holes was found plugged by a pair of the so-called baetyls, obviously made to fit them.^a The moral is plain. Because the use of an unusual object cannot be guessed off-hand, there is no justifiable reason for attributing to it a ritual significance. Had these two objects been found in position in a shrine, like some of the cult-objects of Knossos, the case would have been different. As it is, to call them cult-objects is pure assumption. The clue to their use lies perhaps in the groove found in the flat base of both. It might very tentatively be suggested that they were used for grinding some substance or other; but, in order to draw conclusions from them as to the Semitic nature of the ritual at SerâbîT proof must first be found that they are cult-objects.

3. *The elaborate ceremony of ablutions.* That ablutions played a great role in the worship of the temple at SerâbîT is beyond doubt. One has only to look at the plan (Pl. XCII) to notice the three rectangular tanks, one outside the north entrance to the temple, one in the Hathor Ḥanafîyah and one in the Lesser Ḥanafîyah, together with the circular basin in the centre of the Hathor Ḥanafîyah. But what is there un-Egyptian in all this? It is true that we can point to no complete parallel in Egypt, but this may surely be ascribed to the fact that no Egyptian temple with its ritual arrangements so well preserved has been found. Anyone who has studied Egyptian temple ritual will have been struck with the immense part which purification by water and other substances plays in it.^b Our earliest religious texts, those of the Pyramids, contain endless references to purification by water, the system having its origin, in part at least, in the myths of the sun-cult of Heliopolis. Rê, the sun-god, bathes himself in the ocean each day before his appearance upon earth, and his ministrants and worshippers therefore must cleanse themselves with water before service in his temple. Priests and priestesses might not enter the temple unless first purified by standing in a tank and having

^a ZAMMIT, PEET, and BRADLEY, *The Small Objects... found in the Hal-safîeni Prehistoric Hypogeum* (Malta, 1912), p. 12.

^b See BLACKMAN's admirable article on 'Purification' in Hastings, *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*.

water poured over them, and a damaged relief^a actually shows us this process being carried out. Herodotus,^b too, tells us that a priest washed in cold water twice by day and twice by night. Evidence is not lacking for the purification of the lay worshippers before entering the sacred building, and Hero of Alexandria mentions stoups of water which were placed at the temple doors for this purpose.^c

The tanks designed for such lustrations have actually been found in Egypt. In the unfinished superstructure of the pyramid of the IIIrd Dynasty at Zawyet el-Aryân is an elliptical stone trough for this purpose,^d while in the so-called Osireion at Abydos^e were found two small square basins 'probably used by people washing their feet'.

We can therefore see nothing un-Egyptian in the water tanks of the temple at Serâbit.

4. *The practice of visiting sacred places for the purpose of obtaining oracular dreams, and the setting up of memorial stones on the spot where the dream occurred.* Petrie's evidence for this custom may be summarized as follows. On the portion of the plateau which lies in front of (i.e. to the west of) the temple were found about thirty rough shelters of stone, mostly circular in form. In about a dozen out of the thirty cases stelae have been set up within the enclosure. The scattered arrangement of these shelters leads Petrie to reject the obvious suggestion that they are the remains of workmen's huts and to suppose that they were erected and used by Egyptians coming to sleep near the shrine in order to obtain revelations in dreams concerning the whereabouts of the best turquoises. Petrie remarks that the stelae are of an un-Egyptian type, standing freely in the open, and believes that they were put up on the spot slept in in memory of the dream and in gratitude to the goddess for the revelation. In later times, he thinks, such shelters were replaced as places for oracular dreaming by the small new rooms or cubicles, as he calls them, built on to the front of the temple.

Here again we are surely in the realm of pure speculation. If incubation, the practice of sleeping near a temple in order to obtain oracular dreams from the deity, were practised here, is it not strange that among the mass of monuments left on the site not a single one refers to it, even among those stelae set up, according to Petrie, in the very spot where the dream was received and in thanks for the revelation?

Moreover, are these free-standing stelae with their rings of stones so un-Egyptian that, with Petrie, we must take them to be an adaptation of a Semitic practice of setting up memorial pillar stones and call them Bethel-stelae?^f

In the first place it is true that the free-standing stela is rare in Egypt, and, what is more, that

^a LEGRAND and NAVILLE, *L'Aile nord du pylône d'Aménophis III*, pl. xi b. Cf. *JEA* 5, 121.

^b II, 37.

^c Pneumat. I, 32 in HOPFNER, *Fontes historiae religionis Aegyptiacae*, p. 177.

^d Maspero, *Art in Egypt*, fig. 79.

^e *JEA* I, 165.

^f We regret that on p. 6 of our Vol. I we implied that Petrie had given the name Bethels (Bethel-stones to be exact) to all the great free-standing stelae in the Approach and elsewhere inscribed on all four sides. This statement has been quite rightly challenged by a reviewer (*Ancient Egypt*, 1917, p. 135), who in correcting us has unfortunately himself fallen into error. If we understand him aright he maintains that Petrie would only class as Bethel stelae those *private* stelae which stand within stone circles in the Approach, and which 'have nothing to do with the great steles leading into the temple

site, inscribed on all sides, which are purely royal'.

Now among the stelae recorded by the expedition from the stone circles of the Approach one and one only (66) is a private stela, and the rest are of the large royal type inscribed on all four sides, precisely similar to those in the Old Approach. Moreover, of these 66 is expressly called a Bethel stela on page 73 of P. R., and a Bethel-stone on page 97; while on page 98 we read of two Bethel stelae of Ammenemes II and one of Ammenemes IV, which can only be identified with 73, 74, and 118. In other words a Bethel stela for Petrie means a stela within a circle of stones, and since at least four of these are, on his own showing, of the usual royal type inscribed on all sides and a fifth is a funerary stela of the most common type (see p. 41) the distinction between Bethel and other stelae on which Petrie relies in his theory of a Semitic ritual vanishes.

Egyptian stelae are rarely inscribed on more than one side. But we must remember that we have to deal in Sinai with conditions which are abnormal. In Egypt a stela is almost always built into a tomb chapel or a temple, and therefore can be inscribed on one face only. It is either funerary in nature or records a campaign, a royal decree, or gifts to the temples. At Serâbîṭ the case is different. The great stelae of the Approach are the records of the various expeditions to the district and there is no reason whatever for expecting them to conform to ordinary Egyptian type. At Maghârah and in the Wâdy Hammâmât such records are inscribed on the great flat faces of the cliffs near the mines or quarries. At Serâbîṭ, where an attempt was obviously made to centralize everything round the temple, the records of expeditions, except those which stood at the entrance to the mines themselves, were placed up on the plateau where every new visitor to the shrine might see them as he approached. In early days there must have been but little room in the temple itself, where the walls were already covered with religious inscriptions and what little space was left was needed for worship. When once the custom of setting up the stela in the open had been accepted the inscribing of all four sides followed as a matter of course. It enabled more to be recorded, and the royal titulary to be given in a more magnificent and imposing style. That the Egyptians had no objection in principle to inscribing four sides of a monument when they were all visible, and that the custom was not limited to Sinai, is obvious from the following facts. Near the caravan route which runs northwards from the modern Suez beside the Bitter Lakes, Clédat found two stelae of Ramesses II.^a The first has a rounded top, measures 2·70 metres in height, 1·10 in width, and 0·80 in depth from front to back. It is inscribed on all four faces. The main face shows two registers. In the lunette is the solar disk, below which the king stands in adoration before a divinity whose figure is effaced, probably Sopdu. The inscriptions are cut horizontally on the front and back, but vertically on the two edges.

Here we have an exact reproduction of the type of free-standing stela commonest at Serâbîṭ both in the Approach, surrounded in some cases by a ring of stones, and also in the Old Approach, and dubbed non-Egyptian by Petrie.

Clédat also describes the second stela as being very similar in appearance, 2·55 metres in height, 1·25 in width, and 0·70 in depth. It is rectangular in form with the upper angles rounded off and is inscribed on all four sides.

These two examples would be sufficient in themselves to prove our point, though there is further evidence in Egypt itself to show that the treatment of the stela depended largely on the conditions under which it was to be erected and seen. After all, the obelisks are but tall stelae inscribed on all sides. One obelisk in particular, that of Begî in the Fayyûm,^b recalls very vividly, except for its greater height, the large stelae of the Approach at Serâbîṭ. The back is apparently not inscribed; on the front is a scene at the top with vertical lines of inscription below, while on each of the two edges is a vertical line of inscription in large characters. As examples of stelae in Egypt inscribed both back and front may be instanced the well-known monuments of Mentuhotep and of Sehetepibrê now in the museum at Cairo.^c

With regard to the inscriptions on these stelae, mostly very much defaced, they appear to be of precisely the same type as those of the stelae in the Old Approach and in the temple itself. They are purely records of the expeditions, and there is nothing un-Egyptian about them. There is one exception in the matter of content, our no. 107, set up by Sebekherhab in the 44th year of the reign of Ammenemes III, which Petrie singles out as not being of the usual Egyptian type. It is, he says,^d

^a *BIFAO*, 16, 206-8.

^b *L. D.* II, 119; CHAABAN, *Ann. du Service*, 26, 105-8.

^c *CCG* (LANGE-SCHÄFER) nos. 20538 and 20539.

^d *P. R.*, p. 191.

'an oblation to Hathor by the *ka*, or soul, of the chief of the expedition. This is not of the usual Egyptian type of steles, as they always desire offerings for the benefit of a deceased person's *ka*; this is simply an adoration of the goddess by the living *ka*'. A glance at the copy will show that this idea is based purely on a mistranslation of the text. The inscription is a prayer of the commonest Egyptian type for offerings to the *ka* of Sebekherhab and another official. Indeed the very presence of this stela in one of the supposed dream places would seem to make Petrie's view of their nature most improbable.

If we reject Petrie's hypothesis how are we to explain the stone shelters, both those which are empty and those which contain stelae? If we accept them as Egyptian at all, which in view of the prevalence of rough native stone buildings in all parts of the peninsula is not by any means necessary, two obvious suggestions at once occur. Either they were rough dwelling-places or they were mounds or circles built round the stelae to make them more conspicuous. To the first Petrie objects, perhaps rightly, that the heaps are too scattered to represent the remains of a group of workmen's huts, though, as will be seen from the plan on Pl. XCI, they do tend to fall into definite groups, and besides many others may have been destroyed. If this hypothesis be accepted we must suppose that after falling into disuse they were chosen as suitable enclosures for stelae. The second suggestion is, however, perhaps the more probable, and it is not difficult to explain the empty enclosures by the supposition that their stelae have entirely fallen to pieces and been removed.

We thus reach the conclusion that there is no good reason for supposing that the Egyptians used these shelters for incubation or set up in them memorial pillars after the Semitic fashion.

Even had this been the case it would still have been necessary for Petrie to show that incubation in this sense was un-Egyptian. Now we have a certain amount of evidence in Egypt for supposing its inhabitants to have been acquainted with the principle of oracular response, given either in dreams or in other ways. For the later periods this evidence is fairly full. Thus Diodorus^a says, 'In Egypt dreams are regarded with religious reverence, especially as a means of indicating remedies in illness', and, 'The prayers of worshippers are often rewarded by the indication of a remedy in a dream'. In the story of Setna Mahituskhet goes to the temple of Imhotep (Imouthes) in Memphis. She goes to sleep after praying to the god and in her dream receives a cure for sterility. A Memphite stela of Pasherentah of the Augustan period gives a similar case of the curing of sterility by Imhotep. In fact our evidence proves the practice of incubation at the temple of Imhotep in Memphis and at that of Thoth at Hermopolis, besides making it probable that it was also practised at the temples of Thoth at Medînet Habu, and Isis at Philae.

For information received on subjects other than those of personal health we may instance Herodotus^b story about Sethos and his campaign against Sennacherib, and Meneptah's dream just before his battle with the Libyans and sea-peoples,^c not to mention the well-known example of Tuthmosis IV and the Sphinx.^d

For the principle of oracles not given in dreams we have from the New Kingdom onwards on the whole abundant evidence.*

It is true that these indications do not take us back to the XIIth Dynasty, but they are sufficient to make us hesitate before affirming that oracular dreams were un-Egyptian.

Summing up the whole of the material we may confidently assert that there is no evidence at

^a I, 28. On the whole subject see the article 'Incubation' in HASTINGS, *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, and 'Traum' in BONNET, *Reallexikon der äg. Religionsgesch.* pp. 835 ff.

^b II, 141.

^c BREASTED, *Ancient Records*, III, § 582.

^d BREASTED, loc. cit., II, § 815.

* See BONNET, loc. cit., pp. 560 ff.

Serâbît to show that the ritual of the temple differed in any way from that usual in Egypt itself. Among the large mass of inscriptional evidence from the private stelae and the religious texts and representations on the temple walls there is no hint that the worship of the gods in this remote spot differed in any way from that customary in the home land. Whether or not we believe that Hathor and Sopdu were merely Egyptian deities grafted on to earlier local gods found in possession of the site when the Egyptians first came, we have no reason whatever to suppose that the manner of their worship was other than purely Egyptian.

CHAPTER V

(A) THE INSCRIPTIONS OF MAGHÂRAH

1ST DYNASTY

1. HORUS SMERKHET (SEMEMPSES) (Pl. I)

For bibliography see PORTER-MOSS, VII, 339-40.

E.E.F. copies, controlled by E.E.F. photographs and by B.M. squeezes.


Still *in situ*. Rock sculptures, somewhat difficult of access, 'on a smooth natural face of the upper sandstone rock, at 394 ft. above the valley-floor'. See map, Pl. XV.


A defective surface of rock separates the royal figures (62 × 120 cm.) on the left (1 (a)) from the representation of the leader of the expedition (58 × 40 cm.) on the right (1 (b)); still, it is evident that these belong together as parts of a single whole. The association of the names and images of officials with a scene depicting the Pharaoh recurs upon the tablet of Djoser (2), and is an anticipation of the usage of the Vth and VIth Dynasties (Type B, above, p. 27). Even without this parallel, however, there could be but little doubt about the matter, since the technique is the same throughout, and the figures are in a line with one another and on the same scale.




For the threefold representation of the king see the last chapter (pp. 26-27); concerning the admirable though rugged character of the reliefs Petrie has said all that is necessary (P. R., pp. 42-43). In accordance with early custom strict economy is shown in the use of hieroglyphs, two Horus-banners with the name Smerkhet (*Smr-ht*) sufficing for the description of the three royal figures; in one instance the falcon above the banner, quite contrary to the practice of the most ancient periods, wears the crown of Lower Egypt.

The officer on the right, who is shown advancing with a bow and some other indeterminate weapon in his left hand, was the leader of the expedition. His titles are written above his head, and so much resemble a normal inscription of the IIIrd or early IVth Dynasty that one is at first inclined, as R. Weill formerly was, to question the early date; however, the reasons given above are decisive. The hieroglyphs read:








'The prince,^a commander of the expedition,^b friend (?),^c royal . . . ,^d elder of the council-chamber (?),^e son (?) of the king,^f . . . '



^a  *hnty-r*, 'foremost of position', i.e. prince. Probably the earliest example of this common title.

^b  *imy-r mšr*, 'commander of an expedition', see GRIFFITH's note, *PSBA* 21 (1899), 270-1. *Mšr* is properly the abstract word 'expedition' (see GARDINER, *Notes on the Story of Sinuhe*, p. 29), but is also used for the persons engaged in it, i.e. 'expeditionary force'.




^c  *smr*, 'friend'; see already PETRIE, *Royal Tombs*, I, p. 44, and Pl. XXII, 34. However the sign interpreted as  *mr* differs from that in the banner of Smerkhet, and this difference leaves some doubt as to whether  *shd*, 'inspector' is not the right reading and whether it does not form one title with the following.


^d  . Obscure, but contains the word *nsu*, 'king'.

^e   probably identical with  *smw-iz*, a very old title of which numerous instances are cited by WEILL, *La II^e et III^e dynasties*, pp. 85-86. The inverted order of the signs in  has early parallels, e.g.  *imy iz*,  *zš iz dfr*,  *shd h'w(?)*, &c. The meaning 'kitchen (or sim.)' is suggested for *iz* in this title by *Wb.* I, 127, 9, but in the present instance it is difficult to reconcile the function of an 'elder to the (royal) kitchen' with the other titles of the leader of a military expedition. It is therefore better to see in *iz* the word 'chamber' (of an administration) listed by *Wb.* I, 127, under 2.




^f   is probably *zš nsu*, 'king's son', though the goose is strangely formed and the horizontal sign below is left unaccounted for.

The name of the officer does not appear to be given, and this may perhaps recall the custom exemplified by early Egyptian seals which, when the king's name is mentioned, bear only the titles, and never the name of the official (SETHE in GARSTANG, *Maḥāsna and Bêt Khallâf*, p. 19).

It is not surprising that the seventh king of the Thinite Dynasty founded by Menes should be found engaged in foreign enterprise, since it is recorded that both the second king of the Ist Dynasty, Athothis,^a and the fifth, Usaphais,^b fought with the East. The identity of the Horus Smerkhet with the successor of Miebis is established on good archaeological grounds, and is confirmed by the throne-name  which occurs on some early tablets and sealings and corresponds to  the seventh cartouche in the Abydos table of kings.^c The corresponding name of the Turin Royal Papyrus reads  *Smsm*^d and this explains the Manethonian name of the successor of Miebis Σεμέμψης.^e A record of the full length of Semempses' reign (9 years) is preserved on the large Cairo fragment of the Old Kingdom Annals, recto, line 3, the cartouche above which on closer examination

proved to be ,^f but none of the throne-casings seems to refer to the king's exploit at Sinai.

Lastly, it is worth noting that the Sinai inscription and a later interpretation of the king's personal name very probably combined to create a god, Semseru, see GARDINER, *JEA* 29 (1943), 75-76.

Postscript. It is too late for any alteration in the above commentary on 1, but there can be very little doubt now, as Hayes pointed out to us, that after Zakharia Goneim has been able to assign to a King Sekhemkhet the large unfinished pyramid complex at Sakkâra west of Djoser's, the name of the king of 1 must also be read  *Shmht* and that we have to do here with a king of the IIIrd Dynasty, and not with Smerkhet of the Ist. The vital sign indeed resembles much more  than it does the forms of  known from elsewhere, and we are at Wâdy Maghâra in the presence of three reliefs of three kings of the IIIrd Dynasty, Sanakht, Djoser, and Sekhemkhet who are found grouped together by inscriptional and archaeological evidence at Sakkâra and Bêt Khallâf. But as against this the passage in the inscription of Ramesses II^g which speaks of the god of the East Semseru as grasping Asiatics by the forelock seems clearly to point to a sculptured relief depicting that action.

IIIrd DYNASTY

There being no monuments from the IInd Dynasty we pass on immediately to the IIIrd, which is represented by one of Netjerkhet-Djoser (2) and by two of the Horus Sanakht (3, 4). The latter king is well known from a tomb discovered by Garstang at Bêt Khallâf, where a fragment showed part of a cartouche for which Sethe proposed the restoration [Neb]ka.^h The stories contained in the Westcar papyrus place Nebka before Djoser, but in so doing contradict the evidence of the Turin papyrus. This statement of the case shows that it is very uncertain whether Djoser preceded Sanakht or vice versa.ⁱ

^a See BORCHARDT, *Königs Athothis asiatischer Feldzug* (*Orientalistische Studien, Fritz Hommel zum sechzigsten Geburtstag*, Leipzig, 1918), II, 342-5.

^b SPIEGELBERG, *ZAS* 35 (1897), 7 ff.

^c See SETHE, *Beiträge zur ältesten Geschichte Ägyptens*, p. 24.

^d *Ann. Serv.* 28 (1928), 155, n. 4. Farina's reading (*Il papiro dei re restaurato*, p. 22) is wrong.

^e *Ann. Serv.* 44 (1944), 284-5.

^f See the last note.

^g DE ROUGÉ, *Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques*, 29; *Rec. trav.* II, 90.

^h In GARSTANG, *Maḥāsna and Bêt Khallâf*, p. 25.

ⁱ See DRIOTON-VANDIER, *L'Égypte (Clio)*, 3rd ed., p. 200, for the most recent expressions of opinion on this point.

2. DJOSER (TOSORTHROS) (Pl. I)


For bibliography see PORTER-MOSS, VII, 340.

E.E.F. copy. The group with the king has been redrawn from the B.M. squeezes, and the figure of the commander of the expedition altered from the same source. Neither the squeezes nor a poor photograph at our disposal permitted any real control of the inscriptions.


Still *in situ*?—For the position of this monument see the map, Pl. XV, and the point marked 7 in P. R., fig. 39. Length, 240 cm.


To the right is the usual representation of the king slaying a captive, with his banner 'Horus Netjer-khet' in front of him. Behind him, and in front of a goddess (Edjō?)^a who holds the uas-sceptre in her left hand and the symbol of life in her right, are the following words, referring to the king:

'Granted dominion (w3s), perpetuity,^b life and joy eternally.'

Separated by an intervening space from the goddess is the standing figure of an officer with his staff of office in one hand and in the other a battle-axe, or something of the kind, which he supports upon his shoulder. Immediately above his head are written his title 'commander of the expedition' (cf. 1) and, a little farther to the left, the words 'royal mission' followed by two vertical columns of hieroglyphs apparently defining more closely the nature of this mission. The signs are very much worn, and very little is intelligible to us: the hieroglyphs  may be a phonetic writing of *h3t-zp*, 'the occasion', i.e. 'year' of . . ., and the first column may end with 'all health', which, however, seems to accord ill with the next words 'what he [gives?] to him in this mountain of (?) all minerals (??)'.^c

In larger hieroglyphs above the figure and inscription described in the last paragraph are the name and more permanent title of the officer in question:

'Administrator of the foreign land (? )', *Ankhniyoti* (?).^c R. Weill thought to find this name, as well as another to be mentioned farther down, on a sealing discovered by Petrie at Abydos (*Abydos*, III, pl. 9, no. 16), but the comparison is far from convincing.

A smaller figure follows, accompanied by some illegible hieroglyphs. Behind it, at intervals, are four vertical groups of signs, each apparently giving the name of some functionary who took part in the expedition. For the last of these we can offer no suggestion; the second gives the name Hemni (*Hmni*) with a dubious title,^d preceded by what seems to be *ms* [*n*] *nbt-pr* . . ., 'conceived of the lady of a house - -', while the third yields the more familiar name Merib^e with a title which Weill, quoting numerous parallels, interprets as  and which perhaps means 'royal carpenter' or 'stone-cutter'.^f


3. THE HORUS SANAKHT (Pl. IV)

For bibliography see PORTER-MOSS, VII, 340. Now in the Cairo Museum, no. J.E. 38565.











E.E.F. copy, controlled by E.E.F. photograph; verified on the original in Cairo by B. Grdseloff.

Right-hand portion (33 × 23 cm.) of a tablet, the remainder of which has been mined away. On the same face of rock as 2, and some 10 metres away from it; see the map, Pl. XV, and the point marked 8 in P. R., fig. 39.

^a Edjō, but with a papyrus-sceptre on the IIInd Dynasty seals, PETRIE, *Royal Tombs*, II, pl. 23, nos. 192 and 196.

^b Read  which has a strange (early?) form.

^c Reading (*nḥ-n(i)-it(i)*), 'may my father live for me' (RANKE, p. 64, no. 21), though the word for father in Old Kingdom proper names seems always to be written with *an*.

^d WEILL:  =          *iri Amout(?) Honi*, 'le préposé aux Asiatiques(?) Honi' (WEILL, *La II^e et la III^e dynasties*, p. 129).

^e Cf. RANKE, p. 155, no. 17, and p. 160, no. 5.

^f For the latter meaning and for the reading *mḥ* of the word see JUNKER, *Giza*, I, 149-50.

The king, wearing the crown of Upper Egypt, with the mace in one hand and a staff in the other, faces to the right. As explained in the last chapter (p. 27), this is probably merely one-half of a twofold representation, the destroyed half having exhibited the king in a similar attitude, but wearing the crown of Lower Egypt. The scene of the Pharaoh smiting a Beduin may or may not have been added.^a

The Horus-name Sanakht is placed in front of the king, and is preceded by the image of the warlike dynastic god Upwawet, represented in the usual fashion as a wolf upon a standard, the foremost extremity of which ends in a curious bulging object known as the *shodshed* (*šdšd*);^b behind the latter is an uraeus, erect and with head thrown back.

To the left of the standard-pole is the hieroglyphic sign 𓂏 'to stand' in its archaic form.^c The word 'standing' probably refers both to the king and to the warlike god's standard, and symbolizes the appropriation of the place where the commemorative inscription is found.^d

To the right of the standard-pole is seen the picture of a chapel, and over it a falcon sitting on a high perch. Kees's tentative suggestion^e that the falcon is Horus of Nekhen, the old residence of Upper Egyptian kings, is fully confirmed by the hieroglyphic sign above the bird which turns out to be nothing else but 𓂏 *Nhn(y)*, 'he of Nekhen'. Among other examples, this epithet is known from the lintel of a doorway of Sesostri I from Medamūd^f as 𓂏 and from a relief from the shrine of the *sed*-festival of Amenophis I^g as 𓂏 .^h In both these instances the falcon-god is represented perching in front of a chapel. In the latter, the chapel has the form 𓂏 , in the former, 𓂏 , which is the Lower Egyptian sanctuary called *Pr-nw* and *Pr-nxr*, while the gods on the opposite side of the doorway stand before 𓂏 . From this we can conclude that on the monument of Sesostri I the wrong type of chapel was assigned to Horus of Nekhen since he is an Upper Egyptian deity, and that the correct form, 𓂏 , was assigned to him in the relief of Amenophis I. This, therefore, must be the Upper Egyptian chapel, called *Pr-wr* and usually depicted as 𓂏 . Indeed, it has been interpreted by A. Badawy as a front view of 𓂏 ⁱ and his interpretation is thus corroborated by fresh proof.

The reason for reproducing in the accompanying fig. 2 a drawing of no. 3 from the Bankes



FIG. 2. Tablet of Sanakht (no. 3). Pencil drawing by A. Ricci from the Bankes MSS., XX. A. 1.

^a No. 4 is on a larger scale and therefore cannot have formed part of the present scene.

^b *Wb.* IV, 569, 2-3. References from Pyramid Texts are: 539, 540, 800, 1036.

^c See the almost contemporary reliefs of Djoser at Sakkara, FIRTH and QUIBELL, *The Step Pyramid*, II, pls. 17, 40, 41.

^d SETHE, *Dramatische Texte*, pp. 25 and 133.

^e KEES, *Horus und Seth als Götterpaar*, I, 65, n. 1.


^f *JEA* 30, pl. IV.

^g SETHE in *Nachrichten der K. Ges. der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, phil.-hist. Kl.*, 1921, p. 33.

^h The picture of the falcon-god on a perch replacing in both examples the hieroglyph 𓂏 , Horus. See also *Wb.* II, 310, 14 for the god.

ⁱ *Ann. Serv.* 48, 228 ff., and *Le dessin architectural chez les anciens Égyptiens*, p. 33, fig. 40 (reconstruction); p. 35, 40.

manuscripts (XX. A. 1) is that it solves the problem of the Horus-name  listed by Lepsius in his

Königsbuch, no. 905. Sethe, writing on the most ancient Egyptian monuments, admitted the possibility of this being a genuine Horus-name of a king of the 1st Dynasty,^a having been informed by Naville that, according to Lepsius's notes, the source of this Horus-name was 'Magara (Ricci)'. The drawing of fig. 2 is certainly by Ricci, who worked for Bankes, and shows that he miscopied the Horus-name of 3, thus giving origin to the reading . This latter name can therefore be discarded definitely from the list of Horus-names of Egyptian kings.

4. THE HORUS SANAKHT (Pl. I)

For bibliography see PORTER-MOSS, VII, 340. Now in the B.M., Exhibition no. 2 = Reg. no. [691].

E.E.F. copy, with corrections made from the original.

Fragment (33 × 41 cm.) of a second tablet, more coarsely executed and on a rather larger scale. Found in the banks of chips below 3 (P. R., p. 43).

Part of the normal scene representing the Pharaoh with the Lower Egyptian crown in the act of slaying a Beduin. To the right, here facing the king, the god Upwawet depicted as in 3. A fragment of vertical inscription, impossible to restore, contains the oldest example of the word [m]fkwt, 'turquoise'. The royal banner, with the name Sanakht, is placed between the king and the god.

IVTH DYNASTY

There are two fine monuments of Snofru (5 and 6), and one of Kheops (7). The later kings of the Dynasty are not represented at Maghârah.

5. SNOFRU (Pl. II)

For bibliography see PORTER-MOSS, VII, 340. Now in the Cairo Museum, no. J.E. 38568.

E.E.F. copy, except for the king's face and left hand, now damaged, which have been redrawn from the B.M. squeezes.


This fine scene, measuring 112 × 125 cm., stood above the tablet of Menkauhor and a few steps to the right of that of Sahurê, as seen in the photograph P. R., fig. 43. See too the map, Pl. XV, and point 5 on the photograph P. R., fig. 39.

The style and execution of the reliefs mark a great advance over those of earlier reigns, and also contrast deeply with the second tablet of Snofru to be examined below (6). Weill noted the similar rapid development observable in the tombs of this date, and perhaps rightly attributed the superiority of 5 over 6 to the progress made between the beginning and the end of this reign.^b

The subject of the sculptures is the usual one of the Pharaoh smiting a Beduin, the most noticeable peculiarities being the head-dress^c of the former and the strangely treated beard of the latter. There is a profusion of hieroglyphs not found at an earlier period, and their elaboration of detail and carefully-planned spacing are also new features. The royal titulary, excluding the Horus-name

^a ZÄS 35 (1897), 6, n. 4.

^b See *La II^e et III^e dynasties*, pp. 131-2.

^c For this crown, the feather-crown of Horus, see ABOU-BAKR, *Untersuchungen über die äg. Kronen*, p. 42. The name of the crown appears to have been  ibs, see the Sphinx

stela of Amenophis II, line 6 *Ann. Serv.* 37, 132 and pl.). Another early and carefully executed example (from Userkaf's reign) can be found in W. S. SMITH, *A History of Egn. Sculpture and Painting*, pl. 52 a.

'*Lord-of-right*' (*nb mꜣꜣt*) which forms the right-hand boundary of the scene, is enclosed in a single long cartouche above. It reads:

'*The king [of Upper] and Lower Egypt, the two goddesses [lord-of-] right, Horus of gold "Snofru"*', and exhibits a more developed form than any previous titulary.

In the central field is another cartouche, followed by the usual predicates: '*Snofru, the great god, granted dominion, perpetuity, and life, all health^b and joy eternally.*'

Finally, a descriptive title to the scene is added in vertical signs behind the king: '*Subduing^c the foreign lands.*'

6. SNOFRU (Pl. IV)

For bibliography see PORTER-MOSS, VII, 340. Now in the Cairo Museum, no. J.E. 38567.

E.E.F. copy, compared with the photograph.

For position see the map, Pl. XV. Size 111 × 73 cm.

Above, the king clubbing a Beduin. The only point worthy of note is the twofold repetition of the Horus-name '*Lord-of-right*'. To this is added in one instance: '*Granted dominion, perpetuity and joy eternally.*'

Below, the double representation of the king first as king of Upper Egypt and then as king of Lower Egypt, in each case accompanied by the Horus-name. Here, exceptionally, the king has no staff, but holds the mace with both hands.

The workmanship is very rough, and the design strongly recalls the tablet of Smerkhet (1). For the probable dating at the beginning of the reign see on 5.

Snofru's campaign must have been more than a mere incursion. He was probably the first king to gain a permanent hold in Sinai and in later times was regarded as *the* conqueror of the peninsula. Monuments from Sinai mentioning his name are listed below in the commentary on 62.

7. KHEOPS (Pls. II, III, and Pl. I of the present volume)

For bibliography see PORTER-MOSS, VII, 340-1. Now destroyed. Some fragments found by Mr. Frost (P. R., p. 259) are now in the Cairo Museum.

Traced from the B.M. squeezes, controlled by the excellent Survey photograph, which is also reproduced here in Pl. I. The figure of the smitten Beduin is not on the squeezes, and depends solely upon the photograph.

From the indications given by Lepsius this monument must have been situated slightly to the north of the group of tablets belonging to Snofru (5), Menkauhor (12), and Sahurē (8) respectively. Length, 306 cm.

The contribution of Kheops to the records of the Maghârah valley was not unworthy, either as regards size or as regards workmanship, of the builder of the Great Pyramid. The features of the king were finely delineated, and the markings of the birds and other hieroglyphic signs were engraved with much care and attention to detail.

The tablet is divided into two halves by an upright division, the right-hand portion apparently receding somewhat more than that to the left. The latter (7, left) contains the familiar scene of

^a *Nfr* ⲓ, of the Pharaoh, cf. below 7, 8, 10. It later gives place to *nfr nfr*, except in reference to deceased kings.

^b Spelling of *snb* with ⲓ is archaic.

B 3488

^c *Wb.* v, 414, 4-7. In Pyramid Texts only 271; see also 8, 10, 16 and *ds snꜣw* in QUIBELL, *Excavations at Saqqara* (1907-8), p. 20.

9. SAHURĒ (Pl. VII)

For bibliography see PORTER-MOSS, VII, 341. Now in Brussels, E. 7545.

E.E.F. copy, controlled by a good photograph.

A loose block (37 × 68 cm.) with the roughly carved hieroglyphic inscription:

'Horus Lord-of-risings, Sahurē, living eternally.'

On this Petrie notes: 'Blasting was continually going on, and the nearness of sculptures made no difference to the operations. A large block with an inscription of Sahura was being broken up, and we just saved the inscription, now in Brussels' (P. R., p. 47).

10. NEUSERRĒ INI (Pl. VI)

For bibliography see PORTER-MOSS, VII, 341. Now in the Cairo Museum, no. J.E. 38570.

E.E.F. copy, controlled by the B.M. squeeze.

The tablet of Neuserre, the largest (164 × 256 cm.) at Maghārah, was situated low down near the corner where the Wādy Maghārah branches off from the Wādy Iknā; see the map Pl. XV. 'It is on a bad piece of rock, and is but poorly cut. . . . The work is deep, but coarse; the reliefs have long sloping sides, roughly cut, and the whole is inferior to the earlier work' (P. R., p. 45).

At the top of the main portion of the tablet is the starred sky, to which is now added the image of the solar god Horus of Behdet, a winged disk protected by two uraei. On each side of this, and no doubt referring to it, are the words:


'The good god, lord of the two lands.'


The space below, both as regards its inscriptions and its sculptures, comprises two separate halves. That on the right displays the usual scene of the king clubbing an Asiatic, with the accompanying descriptions: *'The great god, the lord of the two lands'*, and *'Smiting the Mentju^a and^b all foreign countries'*. The rest of the field is occupied by the royal titulary:

'Horus Affection-of-the-two-lands (st-ib twy), Neuserre, the great god, lord of the two lands, Neuserre.'

To the left, all that is left of the pictorial representation is a figure which the head-dress suggests to be that of Thoth. He faces towards the left, and his gesture is that of invocation or speech; over what action or scene he is here presiding there is no means of ascertaining. The inscriptional part is also damaged to some extent. Part of the two lines above reads consecutively:

'The king of Upper and Lower Egypt, the two goddesses Affection (scil. of the two lands), Horus of gold Divine, son of Rē, beloved^c of Edjo', and appears to terminate with the cartouche and adjacent signs to the left: *'Neuserre, granted life - - - -'*. The three remaining words of the second line, *'Subduing all the foreign countries'*, are identical with the legend placed behind the king in his warlike function in 5 and 8; whether they are simply misplaced here, or whether they apply to the lost scene below, is uncertain.

As a kind of adjunct to the main picture, we have on the right the picture of a tall libation-vase resting on an altar represented conventionally by , the supports of which are three *cankh*-signs on a base with steps leading up to it. The libation-vase, except for the spout, closely resembles the magnificent model wooden vase inlaid with faïence that was found during the excavation of the pyramid-temple of Neferirkerē,^d and bears the words: *'The king of Upper and Lower Egypt Neuserre'*,

^a The inverted  confirmed by Grdseloff's verification on the original.

^b Or 'of'.

^c  is Grdseloff's reading on the original in Cairo.

^d BORCHARDT, *Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Nefer-ir-kei-rer*, pp. 59 ff., with figures and plates.

granted all life and health, all joy, eternally.' Above is the explanatory sentence, '*Thoth, lord of the foreign countries, may he give cool draughts*', from which it might appear that the representation is purely symbolical, and possibly commemorates the opening up of a new well.

11. NEUSERRE^c INI (Pl. IV)

L. D., *Textband*, v, p. 381 [19]; Banks manuscripts XX. A. 14 [top right]. Not seen by the E.E.F. expedition. Hand-copy from the publication.

A fragment of inscription with the titles:

'*Horus "Affection of the two lands", Neuserre* - - - -.'

This must have been situated farther to the south than the other Old Kingdom tablets (except perhaps 10) since it concludes Lepsius's topographically arranged list.

12. MENKAUHOR (Pl. VII)

For bibliography see PORTER-MOSS, VII, 341. Now in the Cairo Museum, no. J.E. 38566.

E.E.F. copy collated with the photograph and completed from the B.M. squeezes.

A poorly carved tablet (65 × 105 cm.), part of which, on the left, had been cut away anciently, situated beneath the finer tablet of Snofru (5). See the map, Pl. XV; point 6 in the general view P. R., fig. 39, and the photograph of this and the adjacent records, P. R., fig. 43.

This monument is the earliest example of the second type of record (see above, p. 28), the characteristics of which are the further development of the inscriptional part and the reduction or complete suppression of the pictorial part. The hieroglyphs read:

'*Horus "Constant-of-risings", king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Menkauhor, granted life, stability* - - - -'. *Mission which was performed by* - - - - -' (the names of the officials engaged therein followed).

13. DJADKER^c ASOSI, YEAR AFTER THE 3RD CENSUS (Pl. VII)

For bibliography see PORTER-MOSS VII, 341. Now destroyed.

Traced from the excellent B.M. squeezes.

For the original position of this inscription^a (134 × 47 cm.) information is given in a letter written in 1859 to Birch by Major Macdonald, its discoverer (WEILL, *Recueil*, pp. 114-15). According to this letter the right-hand portion with the royal names had at that time already fallen to the ground, but the left-hand portion seems to have been still intact upon a flat surface of rock above 'the Cave of Maghârah', i.e. an important excavation which was but a short distance to the north of the tablet of Neuserre^c (10).^b

A fine and complete example of the style of record described (p. 28) as Type B. There are no pictorial representations, and the whole is divided from right to left into two sections separated by a vertical line and comprising (1 A) date, (1 B) royal titulary, and (2) personnel of the expedition.

1 A. '*Year after the third time^c of numbering all the cattle, great and small.*

^a See further, BRUGSCH, *Thes.*, p. 1491.

^b On the position of 'the Cave' see WEILL, *Recueil*, pp. 28-29. Its exact location is at present probably unrecognizable.

^c Not 'fourth time', as Weill reads. For a complete list of similar datings see WEILL, *Recueil*, p. 112. Since it is not

established with certainty either that the census of cattle took place at the uniform interval of two years, or that its first occurrence in the reign of Djadker^c was in his first year, we cannot definitely date this inscription to year 6.

'Causing by the god^a a gem (?) to be found^b in the Broad Hall (?)^c of (the sanctuary) Nekhen-Rē^d in the writing of the god himself.'^e

I B. 'Horus "Perpetual-of-risings", king of Upper and Lower Egypt, the two goddesses "Perpetual-of-risings", Horus of gold Perpetual, Djadkerē, living eternally.'

2. 'Royal mission which was sent with the captain and pilot^f Nerankhkhentekhtay to the terraces of the turquoise. There served for him (?) together with him.^g

Overseer of officials ^h	<i>cAntyiu</i> ⁱ	Overseer of interpreters ^r - - -	
" "	<i>Ptahshopses</i>	Second-in-charge ^s of interpreters	<i>Nekaronkh</i>
" "	<i>Sabi</i> ^j	Controller of officials	<i>Uashka</i> ^t
Judge and scribe	<i>Ptahwoser</i>	" "	<i>Hotpnai</i>
Scribe of copper ^k	<i>Khunas</i> (?) ^l	" "	<i>Sebkhai</i> ^u
Sea-captain ^m	<i>Eboḏu</i> ⁿ	- - - - - ^v	
"	<i>Merneṭjerāsosi</i> ^o	Controller of copper ^w	<i>Shopses</i>
"	<i>Necankhmin</i> (?) ^p	- - - - - ^q	
"	<i>Haru</i> ^q		

14. DJADKERĒ^c ASOSI, YEAR OF THE 9TH CENSUS (Pl. VIII)

For bibliography see PORTER-MOSS, VII, 341. Now destroyed.

Traces from the B.M. squeezes.

This small tablet (50 × 68 cm.) was clearly in a much damaged condition at the time when the squeeze was taken. Nothing is known of the original position.

Types A and B are here combined. To the right is a date similar to that in no. 13: 'Year of the ninth time of numbering [all] the cattle [great and small].'



a 

b $gm.t(w).$

c Read  *wsht?*

^a Read $\odot \text{R} \ominus \text{A}$, the sanctuary of Rē built by Userkaf, on which see SETHE, *ZÄS* 53 (1917), 55 ff. Compare also the Vth-Dynasty hieratic form of A in MÖLLER, *Hierat. Pal.* I, no. 350.

* Some memorable event, worthy of being used as a subsidiary means of fixing the exact date, is here clearly recorded; but the signs, which we have reproduced with great care, are somewhat obscure.




¹ This combination of titles also in 16 and e.g. *Urk.* I, 141, 16; 148, 8; COUYAT-MONTET, *Les inscriptions hiérog. et hiérat. du Ouâdi Hammâmât*, no. 76. See the instructive passages *Urk.* I, 99, 13 for  and *Urk.* I, 67, 6 for .

* Clearly *ir n:f hnc:f*; the first word is not *rn:f* as 17 might suggest. See CLÈRE, *JEA* 24, 125-6.







^h 'Imy-r srw also 16, 17, 19, and 21.

¹ Not in RANKE.

^j RANKE, p. 299, 16.

^k  , sš *biz*, for which see L. D., *Erg.*, pl. 23 a;  is, according to *Wb.* III, 395, not found before the Middle Kingdom.

¹ Reading , which is not found in RANKE.

²³ Read    *hrp prw (n) nfr(w)* and compare 17; PETRIE, *Medum*, pl. 9; REISNER, *A History of the Giza Necropolis*, pl. 30; FIRTH-QUIBELL, *Teti Pyramid Cemeteries*, I, pp. 190, 192 (all with  instead of ). Standing man for  also 19. The reading and literal translation of the title ('commander of a crew of recruits') discussed in JUNKER, *Giza*, ix, 197.

ⁿ RANKE, p. 2, 4.

^o RANKE, p. 45, 23.

^p See RANKE, p. 171, 12.

^a Not in RANKE.

^r On this title see GARDINER, *PSBA* 37, 117-25 and 39, 133-4; PEET, loc. cit., 37, 224.

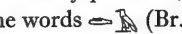


* We suggest this rendering for the common title *imy-hꜛ*, which seems to designate a position between *hꜛ* and *ꜛꜛ*. According to Yoyotte (*Revue d'égyptologie*, 9, 146), however, *imy-hꜛ* was a grade below *shꜛ*.

^t RANKE, p. 74, 12.

^u *Sbk-n'i*, not in RANKE.

† The roughly-cut, ill-arranged signs that follow are probably a later addition, if not indeed a wholly separate graffito. Only a small surface has been cleared around each hieroglyph or group of hieroglyphs, so that the usual appearance of an inscription in relief is not obtained.

^w For \triangle see above, note k; for examples of the title, MURRAY, *Index of Names*, pl. XLII, 1st col.

The section devoted to the king not only gives his names: '*The Horus "Perpetual-of-risings"; king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Djadkerē, living for ever*,' but also represents the king smiting a Beduin chief. In front of the latter scene are the words: '*Smiting the chief of the foreign country*'. If, as is extremely probable, the inscription, BRUGSCH, *Thes.*, p. 1494, no. 21, really belongs to our tablet, the words  (Br. )  '*subduing all foreign countries*' were still visible in the original behind the figure of the king at the time of Brugsch's visit.*

At the top are the remains of a horizontal line of hieroglyphs in which the name of the leader of the expedition was doubtless given: '*Royal mission [sent with]*'^b'

15. DJADKERĒ ASOSI, UNDATED (Pl. IV)

For bibliography see PORTER-MOSS, VII, 341-2. Now probably destroyed.

Traced from the B.M. squeezes; the dotted signs are absent from the squeeze and have been added from L. D., II, pl. 39, d.

Portion (35 × 36 cm.) of a small and imperfect inscription, probably situated a little to the south of the two important VIth-Dynasty tablets (16 and 17, see L. D., *Textband*, v, pp. 380-1, no. 17), and reading as follows:

'The Horus "Perpetual-of-risings", son of Rē, living eternally. [The king of Upper and Lower Egypt, the two goddesses] "Per[petual-of-risings]", Djadkerē, beloved of Edjō and of the spirits [of Pē]. - - - All health [and joy(?)]. Royal mission which was made by - - - - -.'

VITH DYNASTY

Two fine tablets, one of Phiops I (16) and one of Phiops II (17) are the only dated records of this important Dynasty.

16. PHIOPS I, YEAR AFTER THE 18TH CENSUS (Pl. VIII)

For bibliography see PORTER-MOSS, VII, 342. Probably now destroyed.

Traced from the B.M. squeeze. Sethe's readings (*Urk.* I, 92) from a Berlin squeeze have been accounted for in the translation and notes.

In the list given by L. D., *Textband*, v, pp. 380-1, this tablet (58 × 71 cm.) and that of Phiops II immediately follow the group formed by the records of Snofru (5), Sahurē (8), and Menkauhor (12); and since that list claims to proceed in topographical order from north to south the approximate position is thus sufficiently well established.

As in some of the earlier tablets (5 and 8) a royal titulary forms the upper margin: '*King of Upper and Lower Egypt, the two goddesses "Beloved-of-the-body (of gods)",^c Meryrē, granted all life eternally.*'

Below there are three compartments, of which that on the right contains the Horus-name '*Beloved-of-the-two-lands*'. Adjoining this, in the middle, the king is depicted engaged in that ceremonial act of running which is known to have been characteristic of the *sed*-festival.^d The falcon '*of Behdet*' soars overhead. The short accompanying inscriptions describe the king as '*the good god*,

* The same words occur BRUGSCH, *Thes.*, p. 1494, no. 19, a very similar scene from the same reign which Brugsch states that he saw on a fallen block of stone. If Brugsch's statement is correct, this must be a monument about which we have no further information.

^b *H[ib-t] hm'*, see 13.

^c For this meaning of *ht* see SETHE, *Beiträge zur ältesten Geschichte Ägyptens*, p. 41.

^d KEES, *Der Opfertanz des ägyptischen Königs*.

the lord of the two lands', and his action as that of 'placing the sekhet-sceptre, four times';^a the occasion is 'the first time of the sed-festival'. Behind the king: 'Protection and life (may be) with him.'

On the left is the usual picture of Pharaoh smiting a foreign enemy, beneath the winged disk representing the Horus 'of Behdet'. The inscriptions, which show no departures from the normal, are as follows: 'The good god, lord of the two lands, Piōpey, Horus the strong of arm.' 'Granted all life.' 'The great god.' 'Smiting.' 'Subduing the Mentju and all foreign countries.'




Beneath these scenes is the inscription relating to the members of the expedition, partly in tabular form, like 13 and 17:

'The year after the eighteenth time (scil. of numbering the cattle), the fourth month of summer and the fifth day. Mission performed by ^b the commander of the expedition Ebodu's son,^c the

Commander of the expedition	Meryrēonkh
Captain and pilot, commander of ^d	Sebekhotep
" " "	Ihy
Judge and overseer of scribes	Shaf ^e
Pilot and overseer of interpreters	Nekaronkh ^f
" " "	Nekaronkh
" " "	Snodjem
Sailor and pilot, overseer of officials	Hemi
Ship-lieutenant (?)	Ebodu
Leader of recruits (?) ^g	Khait (?) ^h
Judge and scribe	Ptahmacew ⁱ
By Khuen(?)ptah. ^j	


Then follows a more roughly carved series of five names, probably representing some subordinate officials who took part in the expedition:


'Overseer of ten	Neferkhu ^k
Leader of recruits (?)	Hor ^l
" "	Wadjy ^m
" "	Ankhu
Overseer of ten	- - - i' ⁿ


* ; see KEES, loc. cit., pp. 150 ff. There seems to be no real difference in Old Kingdom between  and .


^b  for , which is found in 12 and 15.


^c Probably the oldest example of inverted filiation, which is current in the Middle Kingdom (see ZÄS 49, 95 ff).


^d Wb. IV, 398, 15. This title occurs besides here and in 17 also at Hatnub (ANTHES, *Die Felseninschriften von Hatnub*, p. 89, n. 4), at Aswān (DE MORGAN, *Cat. de mon.* I, 162, and 207, no. 35) and on the stela JEA 4, pl. VIII, 6. Anthes translates 'Garten-vorsteher', but such a person would not have been sent to mines and quarries. JUNKER, *Giza*, v, 12, n. 2, thinks that  is the word recorded by Wb. IV, 399, 1 as being connected with quarrying.


^e According to Sethe (*Urk.* I, 92, n. c)  is clear in the Berlin squeeze. No other example of this proper name is known.



^f Sethe reads after this proper name  ('elder')?

^g Or more probably read  as one title.

^h *Hwi*, but not *Hwit*, is a common Old Kingdom masculine name, see RANKE, p. 267, 12.  is Sethe's reading from the Berlin squeeze.


ⁱ Compare RANKE, 140, 7? Or read  (RANKE, p. 172, 14) as Sethe does hesitatingly.

^j Reading  for RANKE, p. 266, 23.

^k  seems to be an attested Old Kingdom name (RANKE, p. 199, 6). Sethe, however, reads from the Berlin squeeze .

^l Sethe reads the first sign after *Hr* as .

^m Confirmed by Sethe.

ⁿ Sethe reads .

17. PHIOPS II, YEAR OF THE 2ND CENSUS (Pl. IX).

For bibliography see PORTER-MOSS, VII, 342. Now destroyed.

Traced from the B.M. squeezes.

Size 67 × 72 cm. Adjoining and immediately to the right of 16 (see L. D., *Text*, v, 381), not far south of the group of tablets belonging to Snofru (5), Sahurêc (8), and Menkauhor (12).

This tablet reverts to the inscriptional type, the only pictorial representation being a small figure of the Queen-mother Ankhnasmeryrêc in the last of the four upper compartments.

'Year of the second time of numbering all the cattle, great and small, of Lower and Upper Egypt. Horus "the-divine-Neferkerêr", living for ever. King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Horus of gold "Powerful", Neferkerêr, living for ever like Rêc.

'The mother of the king of Upper and Lower Egypt of the pyramid (-town) of Menankh-Neferkerêr;^a the king's wife, beloved of him, of the pyramid(-town) of Mennefer-Meryrêc,^b Ankhnasmeryrêc,^c beloved of all the gods.

'Royal mission which was sent with the god's treasurer^d Hepy to the terraces-of-the-turquoise. There served for him.^e

Pilot, commander of^f

" " " "

Overseer of scribes

Pilot, overseer of interpreters

" " " "

Pilot, overseer of officials

" " " "

" " " "

Judge and scribe

" " "

Sea-captain

" "

Second-in-charge of interpreters

Bekenptah

Udjo

Snodjem

Meryrêonkh

Nekarônkh

Ikri

Ankhef (?)^g

Hemu^h

Djatyⁱ

. . . . khet (?)^j

Hemi

Snodjem

Ikhwoj^k

UNDATED RECORDS OF THE OLD KINGDOM

18. GRAFFITI OF THE VTH OR VITH DYNASTY (Pl. X)

For bibliography see PORTER-MOSS, VII, 342.


E.E.F. copies.

In the results of the expedition as they came into our hands, these graffiti were wrapped up together with the monument of Djoser (2). This may indicate that they were found on the same spot.


They comprise the rough figure of a man (a), another of an antelope or some such animal (c),

^a Name of the pyramid of Phiops II.

^b Name of the pyramid of Phiops I, which gave its name to Memphis.

^c Undoubtedly identical with ; see GAUTHIER, *Le livre des rois*, I, 161-2.

^d For reading and meaning of this title see references listed in GARDINER, *Gr.*, p. 506, under S 19, n. 2.


^e Read  and compare note g on 13.

^f See note d on 16.

^g Sethe reads  Khnum-onkhéf.

^h See RANKE, p. 240, 8.

ⁱ Common name, see RANKE, p. 405, 18.

^j Is the first sign a title?  would be then the name listed by RANKE, p. 274, 14.

^k This name not in RANKE.

and finally (b) the signature of an official 'the controller of the interpreters *Khnem*'; this exact title does not appear to occur anywhere else.

19. RECORD OF AN EXPEDITION (Pl. IX)

For bibliography see PORTER-MOSS, VII, 342. Probably destroyed.

Traced from the B.M. squeezes.

Size 39 × 48 cm. Immediately above the extreme right-hand portion of the larger inscription of Djadkerē (13), see WEILL, *Recueil*, p. 117.

Strictly speaking, two inscriptions are included under this number. That on the left, in large signs and in low relief, consists of one complete vertical column and some signs in that which precedes: ' 1400. Controller of officials and scribe of , Idu.' The numerals may refer to the officers, workmen, &c., who took part in the expedition.

The inscription on the right is neatly incised, contrary to the custom of the Old Kingdom, and contains a cartouche which might conceivably be that of Djadkerē:

' - - - - ke(?)[rēr], son [of Rēr] - - -. Mission performed by the overseer of officials *Sekhhotep*(?). The servant'


The name *Sekhhotep* looked as though it were intended to be theophorous, but the first element, which cannot be construed as *Setesh* or *Setekh*, is wholly obscure.

20. GRAFFITO OF THE VTH (?) DYNASTY (Pl. X)

For bibliography see PORTER-MOSS, VII, 342.

The uppermost copy is a tracing from the text of L. D., *Textband*, v, p. 381, no. 18, the lower one is Weill's reproduction of the copy by Borchardt.

Situated to the left of the small inscription of Djadkerē (15), to whose reign it may belong. Still *in situ*?

The accompanying figure (fig. 3) is yet another drawing of the inscription from the Banks manuscripts (XX. A. 8 [left]). This leaves hardly any doubt that the first sign is  with *two* feathers on the head;^a if so, the Berlin Dictionary's query about the use of *mšc* as a title of a single person^b can be safely ignored, the present being the earliest example of such a use.

'Member of an expedition, controller of officials, *Sabi*, the Black.'^c



FIG. 3. Graffito No. 20. Pencil drawing from the Banks MSS., XX. A. 8 [left].

21. GRAFFITO OF THE VTH (?) DYNASTY (Pl. X).

For bibliography see PORTER-MOSS, VII, 342. *In situ*?


Tracing of Borchardt's copy from the publication of R. Weill (*Recueil*, p. 120, no. 17 bis).


Presumably near 20, and of the same date.

'Member of an expedition,^d overseer of officials, superintendent of, servant who does the command of his lord every day, Idu.'

^a Two feathers are exceptional, see W. M. MÜLLER, *Asien und Europa*, p. 3, n. 1.

^b *Wb.* II, 155, 15.

^c Read  km; see *Wb.* v, 123, 18, and RANKE, p. 299, 18.


^d Certainly again , see the commentary on 20.

^e Read  ?

22. RELIEF OF OLD KINGDOM (Pl. IX)

For bibliography see PORTER-MOSS, VII, 342. *In situ*?

Traced from the B.M. squeeze. Size 34 × 53 cm.

The work of this relief, which is of uncertain date (according to Peet apparently from the Old Kingdom), is rough and the surface much damaged. The scene shows a man with a staff leading a young boy. A third figure follows, holding something in the left hand directly over the head of the boy. The inscriptions are unintelligible; that on the first man's kilt may be read .

XIITH DYNASTY

From the end of the VIth Dynasty we pass immediately to the end of the XIIth. In the intervening period there are no traces of activity at Maghârah, but the reign of Ammenemes III is there prolific in stelae, dating from the 2nd (23, 24, and 25), the 30th (26), the 31st (27), the 42nd (28 and 29), the 43rd (30), and an uncertain year (31–32) respectively. Ammenemes IV is represented by several stelae of the 6th year (33, 34, and 35) and there are several undated fragments that may be ascribed to this Dynasty (36 [?], 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, and 43). On the general character of these monuments see Chapter II, section 3.



23. AMMENEMES III, YEAR 2 (Pl. X)

For bibliography see PORTER-MOSS, VII, 342. Now in Cairo, no. 38571.

E.E.F. copy collated with B.M. squeezes and E.E.F. photograph.

Rock tablet (37 × 61 cm.), high up on the large boulder shown P. R., fig. 40 (see *ibid.*, p. 45) and Pl. II of the present volume from a pencil drawing by Ricci (Bankes MSS., XX. A. 10). See the map, Pl. XV.


The three horizontal lines of inscription at the top give the date of the expedition, and some details concerning it: '*Year 2 under the majesty of the king of Upper and Lower Egypt Nemacrêr, son of Rêr, Ammenemes, living for ever and ever. The god's treasurer, chief intendant of the Treasury, Khentekhtayhotep-Khnomsu was sent in order to fetch turquoise and copper. Number of his force, 734.*'

The scene below represents Ammenemes III in front of Thoth and Hathor, the goddess appearing here for the first time. From the sceptre that Thoth holds issues the sign  which, together with the sceptre () itself, symbolizes the notion of '*perpetuity, dominion (and life)*' conferred by the deity upon the king. Behind the king are his titles and predicates: '*The good god, lord of the two lands, lord of achievement, king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Nemacrêr, granted life eternally, beloved of Thoth and Hathor.*'

The last words '*Thoth and Hathor*' are not actually written, but are conveyed to the mind by the depicted images of the two deities, as described above. This intimate blending of pictorial representation and hieroglyphic writing is conspicuous on other monuments in our plates as well. Here again we have a clear indication that hieroglyphic writing, as conceived by the Egyptians, was merely a highly specialized form of pictorial representation, and that conversely, in their eyes, pictorial representation fulfilled much the same purpose as writing does with ourselves.

The lower portion of the stela is an implicit appeal for funerary offerings on behalf of certain

* The title *sdwty ntr* (see 17, note d) is in the Middle Kingdom often combined with the title *imy-r hntwy wr n pr-hd*, cf. 83, 108, 119, 120, and 122.

^b One expects also  (see, e.g., 89), but there is no trace of it in the small lacuna shown by the photograph.



TABLET No. 23 AT WĀDY MAGHĀRAH
Pencil drawing by A. Ricci made in 1820. (Banks MSS., XX.A.10)

minor officials who took part in the expedition: 'A thousand of bread and beer, oxen and geese, alabaster and cloth, to the ka of the petty official^a Nakht, conceived of Sithepy.^b A thousand of bread and beer, oxen and geese, alabaster and cloth, to the ka of the scorpion-charmer^c Iti, conceived of Eset, true of voice.'^d

These two central lines are preceded by some wholly illegible signs,^e and are followed by a square space containing the name of one more official: 'The quarryman Hepu's son Ikri, conceived of Mentet (?)'

This tablet is as remarkable as one of the few that mention copper as well as turquoise among the objects of the expedition.

24, 24 A. AMMENEMES III, YEAR 2 (Pl. XI)

For bibliography see PORTER-MOSS, VII, 342. In the Cairo Museum, no. 38572, badly defaced.

E.E.F. copies, collated with the B.M. squeezes and with an E.E.F. photograph taken after the partial destruction of the monument.

These two tablets, of which the lower one (36 × 15 cm.) is clearly supplementary to that above it (40 × 21 cm.), were situated just inside the bend where the Wâdy Maghârah branches off from the Wâdy Iknâ'. See the map, Pl. XV, and WEILL, *P.S.*, p. 151.

The larger tablet contains, after the date, a funerary invocation on behalf of the same Iti whom we encountered in 23, together with other persons of humble rank: 'Year 2 under the majesty of the king of Upper and Lower Egypt Nemaṛrē, granted life eternally. An offering-which-the-king-gives (to) Thoth, lord of [this foreign country (?) and the gods (?) who are in] it^f as far (down) as the king of Upper and Lower Egypt Snofru,^g [beloved of?] gods; to the ka of the scorpion-charmer,^h Khentekhtay's son Senusretsonb, whose good name is Iti, conceived of Eset, true of voice, possessing honour. The serving-manⁱ Senusret's son, Ameny, conceived of Saantef. The stone-cutter^j Senmeri'^k


A vignette of an unusual kind accompanies the funerary formula, namely, a picture of a king, clad in loin-cloth and head-coif, making offerings before a table loaded with food. The words 'pure bread and beer for Iti' stand above the table. In the contemporary interpretation of the funerary formula, the king is conceived of as the prime initiator of the offering, but here the king very probably is not the reigning king, but the deified Snofru.

The five additional lines which constitute 24 A may be an afterthought; they add five more persons to those already enumerated:

'Réis (?)^l of the stone-cutters, Iti's son Djefaihappy,^m of the quarter of Senusret;

'Réis (?) of the stone-cutters, Dhutnakht's son Ameny, of the quarter of Amenysomb;



^a See *Wb.* I, 104, 2.

^b  is fairly clear on the photograph; for the name see RANKE, p. 291, 22.

^c Same title and man also 24. On the title see *Wb.* I, 350, 9. Literally 'remover of scorpions'; in B.M. stela [257] (= *Hierogl. Texts*, IV, 7) a man with this title is sent to purify temples. See also 24, 87 W., 112 W., 10, 502.

^d In 24, 'true of voice' unmistakably refers to the name of the mother.

^e Is it  arranged vertically?

^f Reading  or  and r(2)-n; for ntrw imyw see 28.



^g On Snofru deified see above, p. 29.


^h Same title and man in 23.

ⁱ See *Wb.* I, 292, 1.

^j *Wb.* III, 394, 14.

^k An illegible title and name follow on the left outside the tableau.

^l Title of unknown reading, spelt  in 32, the approximate meaning of which can only be guessed at. It seems to be due to its frequent occurrence in the Sinai inscriptions that the sign  has passed into the Protosinaïtic alphabet.

^m Surely the well-known name *Djefaihappy* (RANKE, p. 406, 16) though the word *df* does not seem to be written  elsewhere.

'Réis (?) of the stone-cutters, *ṛ* Ankhu's son Khentekhtaywēr, of the quarter of Heḳayeb;
'The stone-cutter Ptaḥ's son Khentekhtayhotep, of the quarter of Amenysomb;
'The Asiatic Esmi.'

The figure of an Asiatic after the last name does the double duty of both a picture and a determinative of the name. On representations of Semites at Sinai see more below, p. 206.

25. AMMENEMES III, YEAR 2 (Pl. X)

For bibliography see PORTER-MOSS, VII, 342-3. In the Cairo Museum, no. 38573, badly defaced. E.E.F. copy, collated with the B.M. squeeze and with an E.E.F. photograph taken after the tablet had been damaged.

Small tablet (20 × 28 cm.), probably adjoining 24, and belonging to the same series.

|¹ 'Year 2 under the majesty of the king of Upper and Lower Egypt Nemaṛrē, living for ever. |² One who was selected from among^a his subjects, |³ and who trod the paths of his benefactor.^b—I traversed |⁴ the ocean laden with treasures, on the mission of Horus, lord of the palace. |⁵ The petty official of the Treasury Heḳo's^c son, Harnakht, whose good name is Harentamehu.'

The scribe to whom this record is due strikes a more poetical note than is usual in these Sinaitic inscriptions. Note the reference to the sea-voyage entailed in these expeditions.

26. AMMENEMES III, YEAR 30 (Pl. XI)

For bibliography see PORTER-MOSS, VII, 343. Probably now destroyed.

Traced from the B.M. squeezes.

Internal evidence shows that this tablet (50 × 21 cm.) must have stood at the entrance to a mine.

'Year 30 under the majesty of the king of Upper and Lower Egypt Nemaṛrē, living for ever and ever.

'The god's treasurer and intendant, governor of Lower Egypt^d Shemsuḥor,^e true of voice (?).

'This gallery^f in which brilliant (?)^g turquoise is found.'

27. AMMENEMES III, YEAR 41 (Pl. XI)

For bibliography see PORTER-MOSS, VII, 343. Now destroyed?

Traced from the B.M. squeeze, and collated with the admirable photograph of the *Survey*, III, pl. 3.

This rock tablet (84 × 50 cm.) belonged to a group 'on the face of a rock underneath the entrance of some ancient mines to the north of Maghârah', see WEILL, *Recueil*, p. 137 and L. D., *Textband*, v, 380, no. 3.

'Year 41 under the majesty of the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, lord of the two lands, Nemaṛrē, granted life like Rē eternally.

'The true royal acquaintance, his beloved of his affection, the castellan, Dedusobek-Renfsonb.

'Beloved of Ptaḥ south-of-his-wall, and of Hathor, lady of the turquoise-country, (is) he who will say: An offering-which-the-king-gives to the ka of the assistant-treasurer of the chief-treasurer, Senusret-



^a See GARDINER, *Gr.*, § 174, 2.




^b For *smnh sw* see *Wb.* IV, 137, 17.

^c *Hb-ṛ*.


^d .

^e Reading   ; not in RANKE.

^f *hwtt*, *Wb.* III, 6, 6. That the word is connected with  *hwtt*, 'castle' is suggested by the variant  *Bersheh*, II, 24, quoted by ANTHES, *Die Felseninschriften von Hatnub*, p. 19.

^g Read   . For *lhn* see *Wb.* v, 392, 17 (there attested only as 'late').

The stone-cutter of the builders, Khnemhotep.'

Perhaps , s n dzt.

The overseer of the imnw (?)^a Mery.

The domestic and rēis (?)^b Shadiōtef, the younger.^c

The rêis (?) Sutrē.^d

Нери (?)

Aker (?)^e

Senmeri (?)

Stone-cutter Snofru

- - - - - men, 37

*Ferry*men,^f men - - -,

.....

33. AMMENEMES IV, YEAR 6 (Pl. XII)

For bibliography see PORTER-MOSS, VII, 343. Now destroyed?

Traced from the B.M. squeeze.

The two adjoining tablets **33** and **34**, which together with **35** form a related group probably cut by the same sculptor, are seen from the list made by Lepsius (*L. D., Textband*, v, 380, nos. 1 and 8) to have been situated to the north of Maghârah in the neighbourhood of **27**, **28**, and **29**. Size 39 × 22 cm.

'Year 6^s [under the majesty] of the king of Upper and Lower Egypt Markherurē, granted life eternally, beloved of Sopdu, [lord of the east], and of Hathor, lady of the turquoise.

[The truly-beloved one of his lord's] affection, [firm of sandal], quiet of step, who treads the paths of his benefactor, with whose guidance the expedition is content, benevolent of heart and free from passion, the petty official of the Great House, Khuy, conceived of Henu, possessing [honour].

The stone-cutter Sutimar (?). The necropolis-worker Nakhti.

For the restoration of the lacunae see 35.

34. AMMENEMES IV, YEAR 6 (Pl. XII)

For bibliography see PORTER-MOSS, VII, 343. Now destroyed?

Traced from the B.M. squeeze.

Size 39 × 20 cm. For position see 33.

'Year 6 under [the majesty of] the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Mackherurēr, living [eternally].

An offering-which-the-king-gives, a thousand of bread, a thousand of beer to the [ka of] the rēis of the stone-cutters^h Sonbu, conceived of the mistress of a house Mat, possessing honour.'







35. AMMENEMES IV, YEAR 6 (Pl. XI)

For bibliography see PORTER-MOSS, VII, 343. Now destroyed.



Traced from the B.M. squeeze. Size 50 x 48 cm.

Rock inscription situated to the left of 29 and 30, see WEILL, *Recueil*, p. 142.

^a *Imnew*, see p.111, note f.

b   not  . For   see 24, note 1.

^c See RANKE, p. 330, 13. 14.

^d Not in RANKE under *Swti-r*, but undoubtedly same name as *Sth-r*  ©, RANKE, p. 322, 4. This gives rise to the question of whether  is *always* to be read *Sth*, or stands some-

times for *Sty*, later written and similarly.

* Read ? Not in RANKE.

^f See note j on 28.

⁸ Date confirmed by 34 and 35.

^b The *scriptio plena*  *hrwtyw-ntr* is interesting.

'Year 6 under the majesty of the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Markherurêr, granted life eternally, beloved of Sopdu, lord of the east, beloved of Hathor, lady of the turquoise, beloved of Snofru.

The truly-beloved one of his lord's affection, firm of sandal, quiet [of step,^a who treads the paths] of his benefactor, benevolent of heart and free [from passion],^b creating what was not (expected) to come about (?),^c [with whose guidance the expedition] is content,^d a man of festive (mood),^e who joins the celebration,^f assistant-treasurer of the overseer of treasure,^g Sencarayeb,^h possessing [honour.

He says: O ye who live and are upon] earthⁱ who shall come to this foreign land—he who shall say:^j [An offering-which-the-king-gives to the ka] of the assistant-treasurer of the overseer of treasure [Menkhyeb,^k conceived of] Memyt^l - - - - -.

'An offering-which-the-King-gives to the domestic and rêis (?) Merrohu (?), conceived of I - - - - '.

36. UNDATED ROCK-INSCRIPTION (Pl. XIV)

For bibliography see PORTER-MOSS, VII, 343. Probably destroyed.

Hand-copy from the B.M. rubbing, which it is impossible to trace.

Rock inscription of small size (31 × 28 cm.); position unknown. The elaboration of the funerary formula and the writing of some words suggest a date as late as the XVIIIth Dynasty; but the evidence not being quite decisive Weill's attribution to the Middle Kingdom has been retained.

'The true royal acquaintance, his beloved of his affection, the artist excellent in his task^m [in finding the gems (?)]ⁿ which are in the earth, - - - - - (name).

'[He says]: O [ye who live]^o and are upon the earth, who shall come to this mining-district, if ye wish to reach home^p safely, say ye: A thousand of bread (and beer), libation and burning of incense to the ka of - - - - -, true of voice, possessing honour.

'The stone-carver Hori. He says: O ye who live and are upon [earth, who shall come] to this mining-district; Hathor, lady of the turquoise, reward you, [according as ye say: A thousand of bread and beer],^q libation and burning of incense to the ka of the stone-carver Hori.

'[The stone-carver Ptahwër, he says]: O ye who live and are upon the earth, who shall come to [this] mining-district; Thoth, lord of Khmün (= Hermopolis magna) reward you, according as ye say: A thousand of bread and beer, libations and burning of incense, the sweet breath of life,^r to the ka of the stone-carver Ptahwër, conceived of Henut, true of voice, possessing honour.

The - - - Khnumwernüfer (?),^s true of voice.'

37. FRAGMENT OF A TABLET (Pl. XIII)


For bibliography see PORTER-MOSS, VII, 343. Probably destroyed.

Traced from the B.M. squeeze. 20 × 25 cm.

^a , see 33, and Wb. II, 497, 16.

^b Read *šwy* [] as in 33.

^c  is for *twtt*.

^d Read *hrrw* [*mšr m šhrw-f*] and compare 33.  of *hrrw* is clear in Lepsius's squeeze.

^e See Wb. III, 58, 12.


^f *Smry m [hrrw nfr]*, for which see JANSSEN, *Eg. Autobiografie*, I, p. 146, Aq.

^g The title fully preserved in l. 9.




^h RANKE, p. 312, 14.

ⁱ Emend .


^j Passage to 3rd sing., since the meaning is 'whoever among those who will come (*twtt-sn*) shall say'.

^k  possible in B.M. squeezes, but the name not in RANKE.

^l See RANKE, p. 149, 26.

^m Read   , Wb. I, 317, 3. Usually only *hmmw n wnwtf*, see JANSSEN, *Eg. Autobiografie*, pp. 29-30.

ⁿ Restoring []  .

^o Restore [] as in l. 5.

^p See note h on 28.

^q The available space seems too short for the same signs as found in ll. 3-4.

^r The sign  is in its hieratic form.

^s Combination of RANKE, p. 275, 11 and 19?

Very little of this inscription is legible and nothing is known as to the position in which it was found.

'--- Sedty (?) ----- Meshedtef (?), possessing honour, conceived of the mistress of a house
----- shed (?) -----.'

Obviously part of an enumeration of personal names.

38. LOWER PART OF A SMALL ROCK INSCRIPTION (Pl. XIII)

For bibliography see PORTER-MOSS, VII, 343. *In situ*?

E.E.F. copy, collated with the B.M. squeeze and good E.E.F. photographs.

The lower portion of an inscription shaped like a stela (16 × 18 cm.), said by Brugsch to have been situated to the left of 24 and 24 A. See the map, Pl. XV.

'----- at feasts (?) ----- incense in order to propitiate ----- in his land. The petty official Ib.'

39. SEMI-HIERATIC GRAFFITO (Pl. XIII)

Hitherto unpublished. *In situ*?

Traced from an E.E.F. photograph.

This consists of two lines situated immediately below 38. '1 The stone-cutter(s) Khertiemsaf, a Nakhti. 2 Hepu (?)'s son Nefersinüfer (?).'

40. HIERATIC GRAFFITO (Pl. XIII)

For bibliography see PORTER-MOSS, VII, 343. Now in the Cairo Museum, no. 38572.

Tracing from the B.M. squeeze, compared with a good E.E.F. photograph.

This was to the right of 24 A, as the original, now in Cairo, shows.

'The stone-cutter Khnumu (?)'s son Piopi's son (?) Sepdnakht, conceived of Henunhedj (?). His father Piopi, possessing honour.

Those who wish to reach home safely,^b should say: [A thousand of bread], beer, oxen and geese, cloth and alabaster (?) to the ka of the Osiris Sepdnakht (?).'

We are in doubt concerning the accuracy of several of our readings here.

41. SEMI-HIERATIC GRAFFITO (Pl. XIII)

For bibliography see PORTER-MOSS, VII, 343. *In situ*?

E.E.F. copy controlled by B.M. squeeze and E.E.F. photograph.

Presumably near 38, 39, and 40, and possibly relating to the expedition of the 2nd year of Ammenemes III, the records of which (24, 24 A) form the centre of the group.

'The stone-cutter(s) Nakhtrenpyt (?), Sutehmêr'

42. FRAGMENT OF A HIEROGLYPHIC GRAFFITO (Pl. XIII)

For bibliography see PORTER-MOSS, VII, 343. *In situ*?

Traced from the B.M. squeeze. Exact provenance unknown. Size 18 × 11 cm.

'The serving-man Senusret, ----- i, -----, [possessing] honour.'

^a RANKE, 277, 11.

^b See note h on 28.

^c Reading seems certain, but not in RANKE. 𓂏 probably the same as 𓂏 forming part of the name, RANKE, p. 303, 1.


43. UNDATED TITULARY OF AN OFFICIAL (Pl. XII)

For bibliography see PORTER-MOSS, VII, 343. Probably destroyed.

Traced from the B.M. squeeze. Size 42 × 9 cm.

Weill (*Recueil*, p. 149) concludes from the position of this column of inscription in E. H. Palmer's notebook that it was situated below 29.

The hieroglyphs, which are very curiously made, should probably be read as follows:

---  'Assistant-[treasurer] of the overseer of treasure, who deals with^b the tribute of the residence, true royal acquaintance - - - -.'

XVIIITH DYNASTY

The kings of the intermediate period were too much preoccupied with internal affairs to send expeditions to Sinai; and when the quest for turquoise was resumed in the XVIIIth Dynasty it was to Serâbî el-Khâdim that the Egyptians directed their attention. At Maghârah the sole trace of their activity is a stela of the joint reigns of Hatshepsut and Tuthmosis III (44), unless one rock inscription considered above (36) be assigned to this period.

44. HATSHEPSUT AND TUTHMOSIS III, YEAR 16 (Pl. XIV)

For bibliography see PORTER-MOSS, VII, 343. Now in Cairo, no. J.E. 45493.

E.E.F. copy collated with the B.M. squeeze.

The position of the mine of Hatshepsut and Tuthmosis III is marked on the map, Pl. XV, and the inscription (87 × 75 cm.) was on the rock-face just outside the gallery, see P. R., p. 49.

The scene represents Tuthmosis III offering a loaf of 'white bread' to Hathor, and Hatshepsut presenting wine to Sopdu. The accompanying legends form the continuation of the date on the top.

'Year 16 under the majesty of the king of Upper and Lower Egypt Mackerêr, beloved of Sopd,^c lord of the east; and of the good god, lord of the two lands, Menkheperkerêr,^d granted life, perpetuity and dominion eternally, beloved of Hathor, lady of the turquoise.'

The conventional tag 'Every protection of life behind him like (behind) Rê' stands between the two royal personages, the direction of the signs referring it rather to Hatshepsut than to Tuthmosis. Hatshepsut was evidently given a slight precedence over her husband and co-ruler.

The remains of three horizontal lines describe the official who erected the monument:

'[The - - - - - whom] the king [sent]^e at the head of his forces to explore the [mysterious]^f valleys, [the favourite of]^g Horus who is in the palace, in fetching things for his majesty, - - - - - Kheruf, repeating life, possessing honour.'

^a Disposed  .

^b  is unintelligible on this interpretation.


^c  instead of , see *Urk.* IV, 393, note a.

^d The use of this form of the king's name, instead of *Mn-hpr-rê*, seems to have been restricted to a definite part

of his reign, see SETHE, *Das Hatshepsut-Problem noch einmal untersucht*, §§ 103 and 103 a; the reason is obscure.

^e Or 'placed' (*rdi-n*) as SETHE, *Urk.* IV, 394, 4.

^f See 54 for this restoration.

^g Sethe's restoration  seems plausible from 88 and 114, E.

XIXTH DYNASTY

It is possible that there was a stela of Ramesses II at Maghârah, but no copy of it survives (45).

45. RAMESSES II

For bibliography see PORTER-MOSS, VII, 345.

WEILL, *Recueil*, 153-4, quotes a statement of Ebers^a to the effect that he had seen at Maghârah a round-topped stela of Ramesses II. Nothing further is known of this monument, which would be the latest trace of Pharaonic activity in this district. Ebers's indications as to the king's name sound precise; the name of the dedicator '*Imny*', however, definitely belongs to the Middle Kingdom only.^b This fact makes the monument even more problematic.

^a EBERS, *Durch Gosen zum Sinai*, pp. 536-8.

^b See RANKE, 31, 13.

CHAPTER V (cont.)


(B) THE INSCRIPTION OF WÂDY NAŞB

46. AMMENEMES III, YEAR 20 (Pl. XIV)

Hitherto unpublished; see PORTER-MOSS, VII, 366. *In situ*. E.E.F. copy.

This rock-inscription is in the form of a round-topped stela and measures, in its present weathered condition, 20 × 23 cm. It is situated on the north side of the pass in the east flank of the Wâdy Naşb, at a point marked in the photograph published by Petrie (P. R., fig. 20; see too p. 27).

'Year 20 under the majesty of the king of Upper and Lower Egypt Nemaṛrē, son of Rē, Ammenemes, living like Rē eternally.'

The vertical columns below are too much damaged to yield any connected sense; they probably contained the titles and name of some official. The bull's head placed below in the copy is accompanied by a pencil note 'at side', and is not impossibly a sign from the foreign Sinaitic script. There is a further note referring to the word *nfr*, 'good', as follows: 'Traces of another tablet at the side. Only  visible, ten inches to left of edge of the first tablet.'



TEMPLE OF SERÂB
Pencil drawing by



TEMPLE OF SERABÎT EL-KHÂDIM FROM THE SOUTH-WEST
Pencil drawing by A. Ricci made in 1820. (Bankes MSS., XX.D.3)



THE SOUTH-WEST
MSS., XX.D.3)



TEMPLE OF SERAPIS
Pencil drawing by



TEMPLE OF SERÂBÎT EL-KHÂDIM FROM THE NORTH-EAST
Pencil drawing by A. Ricci made in 1820. (Banks MSS., XX.D.2)



THE NORTH-EAST
(MSS., XX.D.2)

CHAPTER V (cont.)

(C) THE INSCRIPTIONS OF SERÂBÎṬ EL-KHÂDIM

47. ROCK TABLET. AMMENEMES II, YEAR 24 (Pl. XVI)

For bibliography see PORTER-MOSS, VII, 345.

The E.E.F. expedition tracing, collated with the inadequate squeeze used by Weill. Collated with original on 17.4.1935. 52 × 49 cm.

This inscription is on the face of the rock at the head of valley 3; the point is marked A in Pl. XC. Cf. P. R., pp. 60 and 156, and WEILL, *P.S.*, p. 174.

On the right is the date: |¹ 'Year 24 under the majesty of the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, golden Sun Nubkaurêr, living for ever. |² The Horus "Rejoicing-over-Truth" (beloved of (?)) Hathor, ^a lady of the turquoise.'

The text is in four vertical columns: |³ 'The gallery opened up by the true royal acquaintance, his beloved |⁴ of his affection, ^b knowing the place of his foot in the palace, cool of temperament, ^c who walked in peace |⁵ to the extent of his steps, whose excellence his lord saw, the overseer of the ships' crews, ^d |⁶ the god's treasurer, overseer of the transport-ships, Men(tju)hotep, ^e born of Sithor, ^f true of voice, possessing honour.'

A later additional line between columns 4 and 5 seems to contain the name Harwerrê^g.

48. AMMENEMES II (Pl. XVI)

For bibliography see PORTER-MOSS, VII, 345.

E.E.F. copy. For the vertical columns on the right we had no means of control. The central portions of the text of Ammenemes II, already published by WEILL, *Recueil*, no. 51, were collated with the squeeze which proved quite inadequate. The whole inscription collated with the original on 17.4.1935.



An inscription, or rather group of inscriptions, which, as we learn from the B.M. squeeze, comes from 'near the reservoir cut in the Rock'. 52 × 77 cm. At point A on Pl. XC. Cf. P. R., pp. 60, 156, and WEILL, *P.S.*, p. 174.^h

The four vertical lines to the right are much damaged by strokes of the hammer; the main inscription is less so.


'- - -, conceived of - - -, lady of honour, - - - all good and pure things [to] - - - [who reach] home in peace and say (?) - - - - incense, who love their lives - - - and who reach home in peace - - -'





'The Horus, "Rejoicing-over-Truth" Nubkaurêr, granted life eternally.'


'Name of the gallery opened up by the true royal acquaintance, beloved of him and whom he always



^a The square in which the sign  and the epithet are placed probably does duty for  of *Hwt-hr*.

^b The signs *hs*[f] *mry*:*f* at the bottom of the column do not appear to belong to the context.

^c For *kb stf*  see *Wb.* IV, 196, 10 ('ruhig, kühlen Blutes').

^d   . The figure of a man to the left of  and the boat below him serve as further determinatives of *ḥrw*.

^e The writing  for *Mntw* in this name is by no means unique, see RANKE, p. 150, 12, and the name of a king of the story of Khensemhab and the spirit, GARDINER, *Late-Egyptian Stories*, p. 91, l. 14 and n. d. The man is the same as the *Mntwḥtp* of 48, where the name is written out in full.

^f The *w* seems clear, nevertheless read  , the latter being correctly written in 48 due to the same man.

^g There seems to be no evidence for assigning this tablet as Weill here does to the 17th year.

truly loved (?) of his affection, *Mentjuhotep*, possessing honour, born of *Sit-Hor*, possessing honour: "The of yielding turquoise to the king of Upper and Lower Egypt *Nubkaurêr*, living eternally".

Below this text are legible only certain titles 'stone-cutter', 'god's treasurer', 'overseer of transport ships', the two latter probably referring to the main figure of the inscription, *Mentjuhotep* (see 47). On the left is depicted '[the petty-official (?)]' *Sebk-nakht*, conceived of *Hathornebt*, possessing honour'.

There was probably another inscription to the left of 48, but it has been intentionally destroyed by hammering.

49. AMMENEMES II (Pl. XVI)

Hitherto unpublished.

E.E.F. copy. No controls. Collated with the original on 24.4.1935.

On a large block in front of a mine in the valley north of the entrance to the temple. This is probably the third of the mine and quarry inscriptions of this king mentioned by P. R., p. 98, the others being 47 and 48. 75 × 69 cm.

The surviving portion of the text, which is badly defaced, contains the titles and names of Ammenemes II:

¹ "Life to Horus "Rejoicing-over-truth", two goddesses "Rejoicing-|²over-truth", king of Upper and Lower Egypt *Nubkaurêr*, beloved of *Hathor*, ³ lady of the turquoise, [Son of] *Rêr* |⁴ Amen[emhêt] - - - .'

50. [AMMENEMES III], YEAR 27 or 29 (Pl. XVI)

For bibliography see PORTER-MOSS, VII, 345.

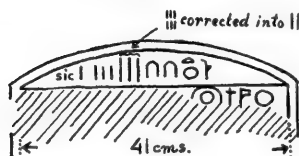


FIG. 4. Prof. de Buck's hand-copy of No. 50.

Traced from a sketch by BURTON, *Drawings and Tracings*, &c. (B.M. MS. no. 25629), pp. 53, 60.

This is clearly the top of an inscription of the XIIth Dynasty. The year can only apply to Ammenemes III. Burton's sketch is marked 'Serâbit el-Khâdim, in a quarry', de Buck's sketch (see accompanying fig. 4) as 'Rock tabl. in form of stela. Mine opposite tent of Sjeich', therefore presumably near F (see Pl. XC). It could not be found again in 1935. de Buck's copy throws doubt on the reading of the date and suggests 'year 27'

instead of Burton's apparently clear 'year 29'.

51. AMMENEMES III, YEAR 38 (Pl. XVIII)

For bibliography see PORTER-MOSS, VII, 348.

E.E.F. copy collated with a hand copy by Weill and with a photograph of squeeze (LL., pl. 10, no. 1). Collated with the original 3.4.1935. 37 × 84 cm.

Rock inscription in a cutting 'before reaching the stela of Sethos I', at point XV on the map, Pl. XCI. The place was originally a quarry, converted later into a shrine (see STARR, *Stud. and Doc.*, 6, 16-17 and plan II).

On the left are the remains of a scene representing the king Ammenemes III with Lower Egyptian crown worshipping *Hathor*. Above him are his titles 'The good god, lord of the two lands, *Nemacrrêr*, beloved of *Hathor*, lady of the turquoise, granted life - - - .'

^a Restore [𓏏𓏏𓏏] ?

To the right of this are eight vertical lines of inscription, the first two of which are half destroyed, while each of the rest lacks only a small group of signs at the bottom. The translation is:

¹ 'Year 38; gallery (whose name is) "----" ² king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Nema^crē, granted life, dominion and health, like Rē, eternally', ³ opened up by the true royal acquaintance, beloved, ---- secrets ⁴ of the palace, in [traversing the foreign lands] ^a to bring ⁵ what his majesty desires,
. . . ., ⁶ adorning (?) the king of Upper Egypt in private, ---- ⁷ the Horus, lord of the palace. The castellan, [Dedu]sobek- ⁸ Renfsonb, ^b repeating life, [conceived of (?)] I ----.'

An offering table is carved in the rock in front of the inscription. To the left of this inscription is 52.

52. AMMENEMES III, YEAR 38 (?) (Pl. XVI)

E.E.F. copy, and rough hand copy in Weill's notebook; no means of control. Collated with the original on 5.4.1935. Immediately to the left of 51.

Worthless remains of eight vertical columns of inscription: 'Gallery [whose name is] ----.'

53. AMMENEMES III, YEAR 44 (Pl. XVII)

For bibliography see PORTER-MOSS, VII, 345.

E.E.F. copy. Controlled by B.M. squeezes and a good photograph. Collated with the original on 5.4.1935.


Large rock stela with corniced top, 141 × 100 cm., on the west side of the pit B (Pl. XC), which gives access from the top of the ridge to the workings beneath which run through the cliff from a point near A to near D. This pit has wrongly been referred to as a reservoir. Cf. P. R., pp. 60, 156; WEILL, P.S., p. 174.

¹ 'Successful: opening of the gallery of which the name is "Making prosperous its pioneers, yielding that which is in it". ² Year 44 under the majesty of the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, the two goddesses "Grasping the heritage of the two lands", the Horus "Great of might", Nema^crē, beloved of Hathor, lady of the turquoise, ³ granted life like Rē eternally. O ye who live and who are upon (earth), ^a who will come to this mining district, ⁴ as your king endures for you and your gods favour you and as you shall reach home in safety, ⁵ then do ye say, "A thousand of bread, beer, oxen, geese, incense, perfumes and all things ⁶ whereon a god lives" to the ka of the intendant of the Treasury Sebkherhab, repeating beautiful life, ⁷ conceived of the lady of a house Henut, the true of voice. The intendant Sebkherhab, he says: I ⁸ opened up the gallery for my lord. The craftsmen arrived in full tale, there was no case of loss ⁹ among (them). This noble says: Ye courtiers of the palace, give praise to the king, extol his might, ¹⁰ praise the king and behold what has happened for him. The mountains produce that which is in them, they bring to light ¹¹ the hidden things that are in them; the mountains and the deserts bring their offerings; his father Geb places them upon ¹² Tatjenen the god's treasurer, the intendant of the Treasury Sebkherhab. ¹³ I am (?) ^f the equal of Hathor, lady of the turquoise. He says: I brought to her an altar^g of faience, ^h ¹⁴ fine linen, white linen, ⁱ various^j . . . together with ins-cloth. I presented to her


^a hbbh hswt.

^b Restore , comparing 27 and 409. This double name not in RANKE.

^c See Wb. v, 286, 3.

^d  erroneously omitted.


^e Lit. 'never has there happened (one) want (why) among (them)'. Cf. 87 and 90.

^f  here is most unexpected, but it seems impossible to complete in any other way.

^g Read .

^h Thn.t.

ⁱ Read hḡ.

^j Read  x.

offerings of bread and beer, oxen ¹⁵ and geese, incense upon the flame. I made festival gifts to her (?). I provided her altars. She guided me with her good guidance. I dou ¹⁶ bled any travel^a to this place because of^b the greatness of that which I did for her. I swear,^c I have spoken in truth.⁷

54. AMMENEMES III, YEAR 45 (Pl. XVIII)

For bibliography see PORTER-MOSS VII, 345.

E.E.F. copy, collated with the photograph and squeezes, which are good. Collated with the original on 5.4.1935.

Corniced rock stela, 50 × 27 cm., at Mine C (Pl. XC). Cf. P. R., pp. 60^d and 156; WEILL, P.S., p. 174.

¹ 'Year 45 under the majesty of the good god, lord of the two lands ² Nemarrēr, given life eternally, beloved of Hathor. ³ The true (?)^c royal acquaintance, of his affection, commanderⁱ of multitudes in the land⁶ ⁴ of strangers (?);^h keen of face when he reports ⁵ to his lord; - - - -ing Asia for him who is ⁶ in the palace; reaching the boundariesⁱ of the foreign lands ⁷ with his feet; exploring the mysterious valleys, ⁸ reaching the limits ⁹ of the unknown; the chief intendant ¹⁰ of the Treasury, Ptahwēr, the true of voice, born of Itu.'

55. MIDDLE KINGDOM (?) (Pl. XVIII)

E.E.F. copy and photograph. Collated with the original on 5.4.1935.

These roughly incised figures are on the rock surface around the tablet 54 as shown by the accompanying sketch (fig. 5).

The bird (a) is near the top left-hand corner; (b) is below the tablet and (c) and (d) are on the left and right of it respectively. (e) is cut with a series of taps of the chisel and is to the right of (d) again.

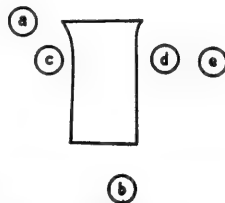


FIG. 5. Position of figures no. 55, a-e, around the tablet no. 54.

56. AMMENEMES III (Pl. XVIII)

For bibliography see PORTER-MOSS, VII, 345. E.E.F. copy, collated with B.M. squeezes. Collated with the original on 5.4.1935.

The inscription, 68 × 65 cm., is placed on a corniced stela on the rock at the entrance to Mine D (Pl. XC). See P. R., pp. 60, 156; WEILL, P.S., p. 174.

The scene shows Hathor holding in her left hand a *menat* and with her right presenting a sign of life on the end of an *uas*-sceptre to King Ammenemes III.

Above is 'The good god, lord of the two lands, lord of initiative, king of Upper and Lower Egypt Nemarrēr, living eternally'. Behind the goddess are the words: 'Beloved of Hathor, lady of the turquoise', and behind the king 'A protection and life behind him'. Below the scene is 'Gallery "Seeing

^a Read $\overline{\text{A}} \text{ } \overline{\text{Q}} \text{ } \overline{\text{Q}} \text{ } \overline{\text{A}}$, lit. 'going and coming', Wb. IV, 462, 12.

^b $\overline{\text{A}} = \overline{\text{A}}$, cf. GUNN, *Studies in Egn. Syntax*, p. 84 (d). For $\overline{\text{n-rst-n}}$ see GARDINER, *Gr.*, § 181.

^c Lit. 'As I live'.

^d The year is here wrongly given as 35.

^e We expect $\overline{\text{m-r mryf}}$; instead of this, there is a sign strongly resembling the vertical form of the papyrus roll.

^f The horizontal stroke across the sign is probably accidental.

^g The sign is nothing but $\overline{\text{A}} \text{ } \overline{\text{A}}$; the trace across the $\overline{\text{A}}$ is certainly accidental.

^h $\overline{\text{Kyw}}(?)$, see the spellings of the plural of *ky*, Wb. V, 110. The present particular use is not recorded by Wb.

ⁱ The facsimile is exact, but $\overline{\text{A}} \text{ } \overline{\text{A}} \text{ } \overline{\text{A}}$ is meant.

the beauty of Hathor'' opened up by the god's treasurer, intendant, governor of Lower Egypt, Sinofret, true of voice. Overseer of troops Iuki,^a true of voice.'

For a stela of Sinofret at Serâbît see 112.

57. AMMENEMES IV, YEAR 6 (Pl. XVIII)

E.E.F. copy, not very satisfactory, controlled by E.E.F. photograph. Collated with the original on 10.4.1935.

Small round-topped stela, 52 × 27 cm., partly defaced. The inscription is roughly cut. Found at point P (Pl. XC), a hill to the left of the path leading from Mine K to Mines L and M. See P. R. p. 63, and WEILL, *P.S.*, p. 174.

'Year 6 under the majesty (of) the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Markherurêr, living for ever. Offering-which-the-king-gives (?) (conceived by?) Sit-Hathor, true of voice, possessing honour,^b his beloved father Sebekhotep, true of voice.'

58. TUTHMOSIS IV, YEAR 4 (Pl. XX)^c

For bibliography see PORTER-MOSS, VII, 345.

Tracing from B.M. squeeze, compared with E.E.F. copy. Collated with the original on 5.4.1935.

Rock tablet with cornice (old 58) at the top, lying near the entrance to Mine E (Pl. XC). The main representation (53 × 68 cm., old no. 59) shows King Tuthmosis IV making an offering (of milk) to Hathor, before whom two offering-stands are placed each covered with a lotus-flower; he is followed by a man bearing a loaf of (white) bread and a small bird. Above the King is 'the good god Menkheperurêr, son of Rêr, Dhutmes [Khar]kharu, endowed with life eternally'. Before Hathor 'Beloved of Hathor, lady of the turquoise, and endowed^d with life eternally.' Over the man is 'Royal messenger in all foreign lands, steward of the harem^e of the royal wife, mayor of Tjaru, a child of the (royal) nursery^f Neby'.

At the bottom of the tablet a line in large hieroglyphs running from left to right (old 58 A) reads 'Year 4 under the majesty of the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Menkheperurêr, endowed with life'. Beneath this is a rough graffito giving the titles and the name 'God's (?) treasurer, Steward (?)^g Seshen'.^h

58 A (old no. 58 B)



A short inscription reading 'Made by the engraver' Kheruf'ⁱ is noted by Palmer (*Notebook*, p. 34) along with the cartouches of Ammenemes III and Tuthmosis IV 'on mines near Serâbît. Roughly chiselled in at the same place.' We thus have clearly to do with a graffito near 58. The inscription was collated with the original on 5.4.1935, but unfortunately no note was made of its exact position. The 'chisel-bearer Kheruf' occurs again in 234.

^a Also mentioned in 112.


^b Read .

^c Old nos. 59 + 58 + 58 A, all collated with the original.

^d Refers to the king.


^e  is due to a confusion in hieratic with  *ipt*, 'harem', see GARDINER, *Gr.*, Sign-list under W 11.

^f *Hrd n kîp*, on which see GARDINER, *PSBA* 39, 32.

^g If  is to be read, it is a unique spelling of

this common title; the indirect genitive, however, occurs occasionally in titles which otherwise always display the direct genitive, see RÖDER, *ZAS* 50, 126.

^h RANKE, p. 297, 29.

ⁱ The  somehow belongs to *ipy*, see 234, where it stands at the beginning; did the title still sound *ipy-mârt* in the XVIIIth Dynasty?

^j On the name see RANKE, p. 277, 7.

59 forms part of 58, see the latter.

60. TUTHMOSIS IV, YEAR 7 (Pl. XIX)

For bibliography see PORTER-MOSS, VII, 345. Traced from B.M. squeeze.

Rock tablet, 60 × 60 cm. in size. On the B.M. squeeze no. 90 is written 'This tablet at the entrance of a mine . . . 2 miles south east of the temple at Sarabut el Khadem'. It was searched for in vain by the E.E.F. expedition (see P. R., p. 157) and by the Harvard University expedition in 1935.

'Year 7 under the majesty of the king of Upper and Lower Egypt Menkheperurē, [beloved of (?)] Hathor, lady of the turquoise. The good god Menkheperurē, endowed with life, - - -, son of Rē, Dhut-mose Kha[khau]. The royal daughter Wadjōyet* - - -'

61. ROUND-TOPPED STELA (Pl. XXI A)

PETRIE (P. R., p. 63) describes a rock shrine at the point Q on the map, Pl. XC. 'A recess', he says, 'has been cut in the rock, and at the side of it a tablet has been let in. All of this has been much broken and destroyed, and the tablets (*sic*) are much weathered. One, however, has borne a scene of a king adoring Ptah, and a figure of the official who set it up, probably of the late XVIIth or XIXth Dynasty.' Petrie's fig. 74 shows this tablet, but owing doubtless to its weathered condition, no copy of it seems to have been made. Cf. WEILL, P.S., p. 174.

Petrie's published photograph, however small and indistinct, leaves no doubt that the tablet is identical with the round-topped stela (61 × 36 cm.) found lying near niche Q by the Harvard University expedition in 1935. A hasty hand copy and a photograph were made; the latter, however, proved later to be unsatisfactory. From this material the facsimile on Pl. XXI A was made and it could probably still be improved upon.

The upper part at the left shows Ptah standing, before him an altar, and '[Pt]ah, beautiful of face'. In front of him are two vertical lines: 'King of Upper and Lower Egypt - - rē, lord of the two lands, endowed with life [eternally]'.




In the second register to the right stands a man adoring or bringing offerings. In front of him are three vertical lines: 'Made by the true scribe of the good god, whom the lord of the two lands loves, - - - - - nakht, - - - - emḥab (?), true of voice.'


61 A.

A third stela (for the second see 423), incomplete at the top, broken into two fragments, and illegible, was found near the niche Q by the Harvard University expedition in 1935.

62. STATUE OF A HAWK

P. R., fig. 126 and pp. 96, 122-3. Now in B.M., no. 41745.

The life-size body of a hawk, in grey marble, found by the E.E.F. expedition presumably in the temple. The wing edges in relief and the bottom of the left eye are still visible. On the breast, incised in simple lines, is the cartouche of Snofru  'good god, lord of the two lands, Snofru'. Contrary to Petrie's belief, it is probable that the hawk, and certain that the inscription, are not contemporary with the king. It is true that the orthography  without  is found at Dahshûr,

* The reading of the name is not certain; the  is the determinative. See GAUTHIER, *Le livre des rois*, II, 302, for the princess.

in the tomb of Duarê, overseer of the two pyramid towns of Snofru,^a but this tomb, together with others in the same cemetery, very probably belongs to the second half of the Old Kingdom.^b The spelling ꜥꜥ is quite common from the Middle Kingdom onwards, most examples coming from the XIIth-Dynasty inscriptions at Serâbît el-Khâdim.^c

The dedication to Snofru is easily explained by the esteem and repute in which this monarch was held in Sinai. In the absence of any other piece of evidence it is very unlikely that the Egyptians left any monuments at Serâbît at this early period, though we are not in a position to say that they were unacquainted with the presence of turquoise in the vicinity.

It will be convenient to collect here the references to King Snofru in Sinai. Setting aside the hawk, the earliest occurs on a statue dedicated to Snofru at Serâbît by Senwosret I (67). Only the base and legs remain. See P. R., fig. 129 and pp. 123-4.

In the stela 104 at Serâbît the divine chancellor Khenhausenankh describes himself as beloved of Hathor and King Snofru, true of voice. Here we find the dead king deified. The stela is dated in the 27th year of Ammenemes III.

In 28 (Maghârah) dated in year 42 of Ammenemes III, a certain Senwosretsonb, a deputy chancellor, describes himself as '*praised of Hathor, lady of the turquoise country, of Sopdu, lord of the east, of Snofru, and of Horus, lord of the gods and goddesses who are in this land*'. Here Snofru is clearly included among the special deities of the locality.

In the tablet of Ity at Maghârah (24), the name of Snofru occurs in a damaged context where it is uncertain whether he is regarded as a god or not. See notes on 24. The tablet dates from the 2nd year of Ammenemes III.

An undated stela of the Middle Kingdom at Serâbît, 141, gives certain details of the amounts of turquoise obtained by one Amenemhêt, who boasts '*Never had this been done since the time of the king of Upper and Lower Egypt Snofru, true of voice*'.

On a rock tablet (35) at Maghârah dated in the 6th year of Ammenemes IV the king is called '*Beloved of Sopdu, lord of the east, beloved of Hathor, lady of the turquoise, beloved of Snofru*'.

In the sculptures of the Shrine of the Kings, due to Ammenemes IV, Snofru is figured along with Ptah, Hathor, and King Ammenemes III (124 a, b, 125 a-c). That he is here to be regarded as a god is clear from the prayer '*May he give life, stability and power to King Ne[mar]rê*'.

There is a mention of Snofru in 136 dated in the year 11 of an unknown king of the Middle Kingdom, and this is repeated in 137 and 145. In two Middle Kingdom graffiti at Rôd el-'Air (502 and 510) favour with Snofru is promised to those who will make an offering to the author of the inscription.

Coming to the XVIIIth Dynasty mention must first be made of a stela of Tuthmosis III which stood before the Portico at Serâbît. Petrie (P. R., pp. 96-97) says of this stela, 'the style and figures are like those of the neighbouring stela of Thothmes III, but it commemorates King Sneferu'. These two stelae were very much weathered and it was at first thought that they were not in a condition to be copied, so that our knowledge of them rested solely on the passage just referred to and that on pp. 92-93 of the same work. In Petrie's fig. 120 a portion of one of them is just visible on the right. The other stelae visible in the figure are 91 (E. face) on the right and 122 (E. face) on the left. These details make it possible to fix the position of one of the 'Thothmes' stelae (120) on Pl. XCII, and the other must have been quite close to it. As will be seen in our commentary on 120

^a PORTER-MOSS, III, 239.

^b See BALCZ, ZÄS 67, 9 ff.

^c See examples of the name of Snofru collected by GAUTHIER, *Le livre des rois*, I, 61-67.

65. SESOSTRIS I (Pl. XX)

E.E.F. copy; no controls. Collated with the original on 7.4.1935, but position not recorded. De Buck saw it in 1930 'S. of small cave', meaning Cave U. The hatched part is now lost.

Inscription on the surface of an offering table, 33 × 69 cm. No indications whatsoever of provenance. P. R., p. 97, mentions that several pieces of this king's work were found in the temple.

The inscription is clearly faulty in places but the sense is clear. In the central vertical line and those to right and left of the two rectangular basins we read:

'King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Kheperkerêr, son of Rêr Senwosret, Horus living for ever, beloved of Hathor, lady of the turquoise, every day (?)'^a

Around the main inscription is the full titulary:

'Horus, "Life of births";^b the two goddesses, "Life of births"; king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Kheperkerêr, son of Rêr Senwosret; the Horus; the good god; lord of the two lands, living for ever and eternity.'

On the left are the title and name of the official to whom this votive object is due: *'Chief intendant, Khusobek.'*^c

66. SESOSTRIS I (Pl. XIX)

For bibliography see PORTER-MOSS, VII, 347. E.E.F. copy and photograph. Collated with the original on 3.4.1935.

This stela, 50 cm. broad,^d on which nothing more is now legible than the cartouche of Kheperkerêr and the name of the goddess Hathor, is, according to P. R., pp. 65-66 and 97, the earliest of the 'Bethel-stelae' and the most distant from the temple. It lies on the path leading from point Q in Pl. XC to the temple, and its position is shown in Pl. XCI. See WELL, P.S., p. 175. It stood at one side of a ring of rough stones from 15 to 20 feet in diameter, approached by a roughly hewn flight of four steps, rising from lower ground on the north-west. There is a good photograph of the stela and ring in PETRIE, loc. cit., fig. 77, and it is also shown on the horizon in fig. 78.

67. SESOSTRIS I (Pl. XIX)

For bibliography see PORTER-MOSS, VII, 358. E.E.F. copy controlled in the back and right-hand portions by E.E.F. photograph, and collated with the original at the Exhibition (*Catalogue*, p. 14). Now at Brussels, E. 2146.

Lower part of a statuette of a seated figure of King Snofru with inscriptions on the back and sides of the throne. Provenance not stated. See P. R., pp. 96 and 124; fig. 129.

'A monument which the son of Rêr Senwosret made, a monument which Kheperkerêr made for my (sic) father, the Horus "Nebmaet" Snofru.'


68. SESOSTRIS I (Pl. XXI)


E.E.F. copy, no controls. Not found again by Harvard University expedition in 1935.

Inscription on a slab, 36 × 49 cm. No indication of provenance on the copy.

|¹ 'Horus "Life of births", the good god, [lord of the two lands (?)], |² king of Upper and Lower Egypt Kheperkerêr, son of Rêr Senwosret, beloved of |³ Hathor, lady of the turquoise.'

^a Read ☉ (?).

^b Transposing ☉ and .

^c Arranging thus: .

^d Now broken. The length of the fragment is 186 cm.

69. SESOSTRIS I

A sandstone hawk said by Petrie to bear the cartouches of Senwosret I Kheperkerē on its breast. In P. R., p. 97, this hawk is stated to have been found in the temple, but on p. 124 we find the words 'This remains by the north door of the temple', where, presumably, it was found. See Pl. XCII. Further, on p. 97, we find 'a very interesting slab has come from the wall of his (Kheperkerē's) shrine, marking the places where the statuette of Senusert I was kept, the statuette of Amenemhat I, and the hawk of Senusert I'. This slab is obviously 71 (see this).

70. PROBABLY SESOSTRIS I (Pl. XXII)

E.E.F. copy collated with photographs and with a hand copy from the original by Petrie. Now in the Cairo Museum (No. 38263), where it was re-collated for us by B. Grdseloff.

'King of Upper and Lower Egypt Kheperkerē, living for ever, beloved of [Hathor], lady of the turquoise';

'King of Upper and Lower Egypt Sehetepibrē, living for ever, beloved of Hathor, lady of the turquoise';

'King of Upper and Lower Egypt Nebhepetrē, endowed with life for ever, beloved of Hathor, lady of the turquoise';

'King of Upper and Lower Egypt Secankhkerē,^a living for ever, [beloved of] Hathor, lady of the turquoise.'

71. AMMENEMES II (Pl. XXI)

E.E.F. copy collated with a very small photograph, from which the only alterations which could be made were ~~ank~~ in last line and ~~ⲙⲁⲛⲉⲙⲙⲉⲥ~~ in the name of the queen. Collated in 1935 with the original found lying upside down in the Shrine of Kings.

Large slab of stone, 49 × 102 cm. The copy was marked 'Loose block over Hatshepsut wall' which must be one of the (three) walls of the Shrine of Kings.^b P. R., p. 97, states that the block came from the shrine of Sesostris I, meaning the shrine or temple as arranged by this king, which, however, comprised little more than the Sacred Cave and its front (see op. cit., p. 98).

It is evident that this block stood behind three statues, one of Ammenemes I and two of Sesostris I, one of which latter was in the form of a hawk and may well be 69.

Horizontal inscription at the top: '[Year] 11 (?)^c under the majesty of the Horus He[ken]emmet, king of Upper and Lower Egypt [Nubkaurē], son of Rē Amenemhēt.'

Beneath, the slab is divided into three vertical panels headed respectively:

'The throne (or 'place') of the king of Upper and Lower Egypt Kheperkerē',

'The throne of the king of Upper and Lower Egypt Sehetepibrē',

'The Horus-throne of the king of Upper and Lower Egypt Kheperkerē.'

The vertical inscriptions, beginning with that on the right, are as follows:

'Royal daughter of his body, Sebat, true of voice, possessing [honour]';

'His sister,^d the hereditary princess and king's wife Neferu, true of voice, possessing honour';

^a We owe this brilliant reading of the royal name to Grdseloff.

^b See Petrie's labelling of 108 'Hats[hepsut] on E. wall'.

^c There seems to be a trace of another \cap on the photograph

at the beginning and room for another three | under the tens.


Read $\cap \cap$
| | | | |, '24'?

^d Standing in the centre of the panel.

'*Truly beloved of his lord, of his affection, firm of sandals, quiet of step, loving all that he undertakes (?), . . . of a boat, - - - 's son Sebekdidi.*'

The short horizontal inscriptions are both alike and read:

'*Governor of Lower Egypt, 'Ankhib,^a true of voice, conceived of Sit-Khentekhtay, true of voice.*'

In the centre panel are the signs  which perhaps completed the cartouche of Sehetepibre^c on the statuette in front.

The short horizontal lines at the extreme left outside the bordering line are too obliterated to allow of any translation. They mention a Ptahwēr (perhaps the same as in 109 and 110?).

At the extreme right are four vertical lines, in part running into the two horizontal headlines above them, thus perhaps forming their continuation:

'[*Offering-which-the-king-gives (?)*] to the ka^b (?) [of] sonb, Neferu, interpreter Nekhes (?), - - - [who treads] the road [of his lord], his [beloved], doing that which he praises in the course of each [day]; his heart - - - - - u, possessing honour, his father, his beloved, the petty official Neferhotep, possessing honour; of the Treasury'

The other side of the block contained a text in vertical lines which was found almost completely defaced in 1935. Below the inscription runs a row of Kheker ornaments like that in 109 to which it may at some time have belonged; note also the mention of a Ptahwēr in both.

The right-hand edge (while facing the front) shows a dovetail incision, which proves that the block was at one time used as building material. The edge too is decorated by the figure of a man facing left. In front of him runs a vertical line: '*Serving-man (wb₃) Oker, possessing honour, conceived of Itep,^c possessing honour,*' while behind him another line mentions the '*Coppersmith Sebu, possessing honour, conceived of Petu*'. Below the man is a damaged inscription which may be read as '*Coppersmith Amenhotep (?)^d, possessing honour, conceived of - - -*'.

72. AMMENEMES II (Pl. XXI)

E.E.F. copy controlled by a fair E.E.F. photograph and revised at the Exhibition (*Catalogue*, p. 18). Present whereabouts unknown.

Portion of a large rectangular stela; 51 × 73 cm. Cf. P. R., p. 124.

The scene represents 'Ankhib offering two small cones of turquoise to king Nubkaurē.

'- - - - - [*doing*] what the king approves in the course of every day; the god's treasurer, overseer of the, governor of Lower Egypt, 'Ankhib, who made this monument.'

Behind the figure of 'Ankhib: '*The overseer of the 'Ankhib; he offers loaves^f of turquoise for the majesty of this god.*'

The inscription relative to the king runs: '*The good god, lord of the two lands, king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Nubkaurē, living for ever, beloved of Hathor, lady of the turquoise.*'



















The inscription from one of the edges (apparently the left) of the stone (52 × 10 cm.) reads: '*Overseer of the 'Ankhib, true of voice, possessing honour, conceived of Sit-Khentekhtay, true of voice, possessing honour.*'

This same 'Ankhib is also mentioned in 71.

^a For another inscription of this 'Ankhib see 72.

^b Read  ?

^c The name is attested in Middle Kingdom as feminine, RANKE, p. 50, 12.

^d                  

73. AMMENEMES II, YEAR 4 (Pl. XXI A)

E.E.F. copy; no controls. Collated with the original on 6.4.1935, when it was seen broken in three fragments lying on the hill north of the 'Small Black Hill'.

Three sides of a badly defaced round-topped stela; entire length about 190 cm., breadth at top 32 cm., at bottom 40 cm., thickness 24 cm.^a Copy marked 'no edge inscr. (?)—left'; this is correct, there being no inscription visible on one edge (face D), which is entirely weathered.

Nothing is discernible but the date 'Year 4' and fragments of 'Hekenmareṯ', the Horus name of Ammenemes II, on 'Face A' (= original east face?), and the proper name Senwosret on 'face C' (= original south edge?).

This is surely the inscription mentioned by WEILL, *P.S.*, p. 175, as having been found at point 11 in his map ('une stèle de l'an 4 d'un roi inconnu'). The position is shown in our Pl. XCI.

74. AMMENEMES II (Pl. XX)

E.E.F. copy controlled by a good photograph; collated with the original on 20.4.1935, when it was seen lying and broken in two.

Tall round-topped stela (breadth at top 38 cm., at the bottom 43 cm., thickness at the top 29 cm.); provenance not marked on copy. The photograph is, however, marked Bethel, and shows the position of the overthrown stela with regard to the temple. It is in fact clear that this is one of the two 'Bethel stelae' of Ammenemes II mentioned in *P. R.*, p. 98. It stood perhaps at point 12 in Weill's map, WEILL, *P.S.*, p. 177, which agrees with de Buck's indication 'N. of Black Hill', and it is at this point that we have shown it in Pl. XCI.

At the top of what was probably the east face is the sign of heaven and at the sides two *uas*-sceptres which descend to form a border to the whole. The inscription, in fine large characters, is arranged in two vertical lines, partly effaced. There is no clue to the amount missing at the bottom:

'Horus Hekenemmareṯ, king of Upper and Lower Egypt Amenemhēt, beloved of the lady of the turquoise, [living] for ever.'

'Speech^b by the lady of the turquoise: "I have given thee all - - - -".'

The name of 'Hat[hor, given] all life'^c is written at the top at the beginning of the two lines.

The west face and north edge are completely weathered and show no traces; on the south edge a few illegible signs can be seen.

75. AMMENEMES II (Pl. XIX)

E.E.F. copy; no controls. Visible on the photograph of the Exhibition (1905); present whereabouts unknown.

The provenance of this fragment, 42 × 30 cm., is not marked on the copy, but as the left side seems to have a distinct batter it is not hard to identify this with the part of a second Bethel stela of this kind mentioned *P. R.*, p. 98. We cannot find its position.

'[Horus Heken]emmareṯ, king of Upper and Lower Egypt Nubkaurē, granted life like Rē for ever.'

^a By an unfortunate misinterpretation of notes taken in 1935 the 'face C' (that is the thickness) has been incorrectly drawn on Pl. XXI A. Its width ought to be uniformly 5 cm. in

the drawing.

^b  is turned towards the Horus name in the first line.

^c Reading .

76. AMMENEMES II (Pl. XXI)

E.E.F. copy; no controls. Not found again in 1935.

Piece of a block (95 × 30 cm.) found 'lying about Room G'. Vertical inscription in very large characters.

'*The two goddesses [He]ken[em]maet - - - - [Nub]kau[rē] - - -*.'

77. AMMENEMES II (Pl. XXII)

For bibliography see PORTER-MOSS, VII, 358.

E.E.F. copy controlled by a photograph. Collated with original.

Small seated figure of Hathor in red sandstone, now in the B.M. no. [497] (Exhibition no. 149).

No note of provenance. See P. R., p. 124 and fig. 130.

On the apron, above the knees: '*King of Upper and Lower Egypt Nubkaurē, living (sic).*'

On the apron, below the knees: '*Overseer of transport ships Snofru, conceived of Makut.*'

78. AMMENEMES II (Pl. XIX)

E.E.F. copy, controlled by a photograph kindly provided by the authorities of the Dublin Museum, where the monument now is (no. 1905.264). No note of provenance on copy.

Lower part of a seated statue. Pedestal 9 × 10 cm.

On the right side of the seat: '*Horus Hekenemmet, [king of Upper and Lower Egypt] Nubkaurē, true of voice, beloved of Hathor, lady of the turquoise.*'

On the left side: '*Son of Rē Amenemhēt, beloved of Hathor, lady of the turquoise.*'

79. SESOSTRIS II (Pl. XXII)

E.E.F. copy collated with a photograph in the case of the lower line, and with a copy kindly supplied by the authorities of the Haskell Museum, Chicago, where the statuette now is (no. 8664). No note of provenance.

Headless kneeling statuette of a king in pale red sandstone, P. R., p. 98. Height 175 cm., width 16 cm., length 23 cm. On the upper surface of the pedestal in front of the king is: '*Life to Horus "He who leads the two lands", king of Upper and Lower Egypt, - - - Kheperkarē, endowed with life like Rē [for ever]*', all enclosed in one large cartouche.

On the edge of the base: '*The beloved of his [lord], the god's treasurer, herald (whmw) of the "arryt-chamber, Hekayeb, [possessing] honour.*'

The same man has dedicated no. 80.

80. SESOSTRIS II (Pl. XXII)

E.E.F. copy, controlled at the Exhibition (*Catalogue*, p. 14) as far as the front and right side are concerned. No note of provenance.

Base of a seated statue. Now in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania University Museum, E. 14939.

On the right side is: '*Life to Horus "Repeating births - - -"; king of Upper and Lower Egypt Sehetep[ib]rē, endowed with life, beloved of Hathor, lady of the turquoise.*'

On the left side is: '*Horus "Repeating births"; king of Upper and Lower Egypt (Se)hetep[ib]rē; son of Rē Amenemhēt, endowed (with life), beloved of Sopdu, lord of the foreign lands.*'

On the front we read: 'True [royal] acquaintance, his beloved, the god's treasurer, herald of the carryt-chamber, *Heka[yeb]*.'

The same man has dedicated no. 79.

81. SESOSTRIS III (Pl. XXII)

For bibliography see PORTER-MOSS, VII, 353. E.E.F. copy, collated with a photograph and with the original.

Lower portion of a seated statue, presumably of Sesostris III, in sandstone. Original now in the B.M. [692] (Exhibition no. 162). It was found in the Lesser Hanafiyah; see P. R., p. 124, and fig. 105, where it lies in the foreground. 52 × 26 cm.

Inscription on the apron above the knees: 'The good god, lord of the two lands, king of Upper and Lower Egypt, *Kha'kaurē*, son of *Rē*, *Senwosret*, living for ever, beloved of Hathor, lady of the turquoise. May she give to him life, stability and dominion like *Rē* for ever.'

On the apron below the knees: ¹ '[Overseer] of the cabinet of *Kheper[ka]rē*, *Mereru*,^a possessor of honour; ² [The serving man] *Ankhu*, possessor of honour; ³ The serving man *Senwosret*, possessor of honour; ⁴ The scribe of the cattle *Akhtoy*, possessor of honour; ⁵ The Asiatic *Rua*, possessor of honour.'

82. SESOSTRIS III (Pl. XXII)

E.E.F. copy, no controls. (A hand copy in Weill's notebook gave no help.) Collated with the original on 16.4.1935.

Round-topped stela much wider at the base than at the top, now 202 × 70 cm. This is clearly the stela of Sesostris III mentioned by Petrie (P. R., p. 72) as having been found in fragments about the great haematite knoll at the side of the approach to the temple, in agreement with de Buck's note 'Lying on Black Hill'. See our Pl. XCI, point X. Cf. WEILL, P.S., p. 175.

The attribution to Sesostris seems practically certain. The name Sesostris is clear about the centre of face B, and in the cartouche at the top, which is badly mutilated, 'Rē' is clear on the left as is also the straight bottom line of a U on the right. The central sign has a straight bottom and as the king is one of the Sesostris' can only be *sen*. On the E.E.F. copy there is a pencil annotation 'Rectify at top', and as Petrie attributes the stela to Sesostris III it is probable that his examination of the original fragments showed the reading *Kha'kaurē* to be certain.

Any attempt at translation is impossible; the only legible words are '[beloved] of Hathor, lady of the turquoise' under the cartouche on the top and 'in the course of every day'^b in the third line from the left in the bottom part of the inscription.

83. AMMENEMES III, YEAR 2 (Pl. XXVI)

For bibliography see PORTER-MOSS, VII, 357. Add photograph in *The Harvard Theological Review*, 25 (1932), no. 2, pl. VII, bottom, and *Stud. and Doc.* VI, pl. 1, 2. E.E.F. copy, collated with the B.M. squeezes. Collated with the original on 31.3.1935.

This inscription is on the western face of the rock pillar which was left in the centre of the Cave of Hathor to support the roof; see P. R., p. 94. It measures 71 by 41 cm.

At top: 'Year 2 under the majesty of the king of Upper and Lower Egypt *Nemacrē*, - - - -.' Below this is a panel, in the right-hand portion of which is 'Hathor, lady of the turquoise', saying 'I am giving

^a The identity of this *Mereru* with that of 148 and 151 is doubtful. He is not the same as the 'god's treasurer' of 131 who lived under an Ammenemes (III?).

^b *m hrt hrw [nt] rē nb.*

^c That is facing the entrance.

to thee all health and joy', and standing before 'the good god Amenemhêt'. From the goddess's uasceptre go forth the symbols of stability and life in the direction of the royal nose. The expression $\Delta \parallel$ above is to be combined with this symbolic representation so as to read $\Delta \parallel \text{𓆎} \parallel$ 'she gives' life, stability and dominion' and similarly the isolated word $\text{𓆎} \parallel$ 'beloved of' is to be combined with the picture of the goddess 'beloved of Hathor' or with the name that stands in front of her image. In front of the king's name are the words 'Praising the god, four times', and behind him is the ordinary prophylactic formula 'The protection of all life is behind him for ever'. On the left was a representation of the chief personage who took part in the expedition, 'The treasurer of the king of Lower Egypt, the sole friend, overseer of treasure - - - -'.

In the second panel are depicted 'the god's treasurer, chief intendant of the Treasury, Khenom̄su',^a 'born of Sit-Hathor', and 'the deputy of the overseer of treasure Ameny-sonb'; the figure of another 'deputy' (*idnw*) followed, but is now destroyed.

The third panel shows 'the interpreter Sonb, born of Stjoy-ro',^b 'the true of voice', 'the intendant of the Treasury Sebek-ro, born of Sit-metjenu', and a third official now lost.

On the lower part of the pillar traces of a number of horizontal lines are visible, undoubtedly containing names of further members of an expedition. Very few are still legible, but among them can be seen:



'foreman of stone-cutters
Ankh - - -'



'quarryman (ik?)
Ihenhab (?)^c



'stone-cutter
Rensonb'

84. AMMENEMES III (Pl. XXXII)

E.E.F. copy, no controls. Present whereabouts unknown.

These fragments of an inscribed altar dedicated by Khenom̄su were found (according to the *Exhibition Catalogue*, p. 18) in the Sacred Cave of Hathor the pillar of which, no. 83, was inscribed by the same man, and they may therefore safely be assigned to the same reign, possibly to the same year.

The three upper fragments fit fairly closely together and give two lines of inscription, one on the upper surface of the altar, and one on the edge:

[¹ 'An offering-which-the-king-gives (to) Hathor, lady [of the turquoise], that she may give offerings of bread and beer, oxen^d and fowls, [cloth and alabaster, incense (?)] and unguents for the ka of the intendant Khenom̄su.'

[² 'An offering-which-the-king-gives (to) Hathor, lady of the tur[quoise], that she may give offerings of bread and beer, oxen and fowl, cloth and alabaster, incense and unguents for the ka of the intendant Khenom̄su, true of voice.'

The lower fragment gives the end of the inscription on the back of the altar and the beginning of that on the left side: '- - - - - [great intendant] of the Treasury, Khenom̄su, true of voice, possessing honour,' and 'great intendant - - - -'.

With the upper fragments is the end of the line of inscription on the right side of the altar '- - - - - [Khenom̄]su, true of voice, possessing honour'.

^a Possibly identical with the Khentekhtay-hotep Khenom̄su of no. 23.

^c Not in RANKE.

^d Reading Ⲕ.

^b RANKE, 322, 20.

85. AMMENEMES III, YEAR 4 (Pl. XXIII)

For bibliography see PORTER-MOSS, VII, 348-9. E.E.F. copy, controlled in the case of the west face by good photographs. Collated with the original on 13.4.1935 when it was found lying on the ground and not *in situ*.

There is no note of provenance on the copies, but the position as shown on our Pl. XCII is certain from P. R., p. 83; cf. op. cit., fig. 118.

The evidence of the markings on the copies as to the directions in which the various faces and edges faced was conflicting. Having regard, however, to the facts that the royal date is always on the east face of these stelae, and that this face is also the most weathered (see, for example, P. R., figs. 86 and 89), we assigned the copies in the way that proved correct on collation with the original in 1935.

The mention of the brother of the Prince of Retjenu probably fixes the date in the reign of Amenemes III, see 87, 92, and 112.

East face. Breadth 54 cm.

Two fragments alone remain. The first, from the top, shows two Horus-birds facing one another, each with the double crown.^a Above them is the sky sign and above that in the lunette is the date 'Year 4^b under - - -'. The other fragment is from the bottom and is part of a list of names. Three of the persons named are 'domestics and butlers' (*hry-pr wdpw*), and two others are 'cooks' (*psy*), one of them being named Sebekwēr. The name Hori also seems to occur.

West face. 245 × 54 cm. P. R., fig. 118, pp. 83, 113, 120.

'List of the company of youths entrusted (?)^c to Hathor.'

Right-hand column (I):

- |¹ Overseer of troops Piōpey,
The stone-cutter Renuiemhēt,
Kaemkemui,^e
Snofruptah,
- |⁵ Sebekwēr,
Khusobek,
'Antihotep,
Sisopdu,
Neferkerēr,
- |¹⁰ Khentihotep,
The foreman Horwerrēr,
'Antiemhēt,
Khentiwoser,
Khnumhotep,
- |¹⁵ Nakhti,
Sipyty,^f

Left-hand column (II):

- |¹ Second-in-charge (?)^d Kemau,
Nakhti,
Iufnai,
Sebekwēr,
- |⁵ Sihathor,
'Antiemsaf,
'Antiemhēt,
'Antihotep,
'Antihotep,
- |¹⁰ 'Antihotep,
The foreman Hetepsubek,
Amenysonb,
Amenywah,
'Antiemhēt,
- |¹⁵ Snefrunakht,
Sihathor,

^a It is possible that this should be taken as evidence of a joint reign. Cf. 114.

^b But two very high *o* cannot be excluded; it would then be 'Year 20'.

^c $\overline{\text{Y}}$ written for $\overline{\text{I}}$.

^d Lit. 'Overseer of the half', that is, of the expeditionary

force.

^e *Kmwy* is the later writing of *Kmw*, the name of the nome of Athribis, after the final *r* has passed into *y*.

^f Not in RANKE. The element *pyt* is obscure; *Wb.* 1, 502, 4, records a word written in exactly the same way.

Right-hand column (I):

- Sebekranti,*
Dhōut,
Ptahhotep,
^{|20} *Senwosret,*
The foreman Khentihotep,
Si-Hathor,
‘Antiemhēt,
Khetirēr,
^{|25} *Wah,*
Khentihotep,
Mery,
Senwōnkh,
Anupem - - - -,
^{|30} *Hetepanūp,*
The ganger Hetepkhons,
Anupswōnkh,
Iuni,
Khentihotep,
^{|35} *Nakhti,*
- - - - Sētekh,
Hetepcranti,
‘Antiemsaf[f],
‘Antihotep,
^{|40} *[Sen]wosre[t],*
The foreman - - - -,
Khentihotep,
Khentiwēr,
‘Antiemsaf,
^{|45} *Khonsemsaf, the elder,*
Khentihotep,
Anup[sr]onkh,
- - - - -,
- - - - -,
^{|50} *- - - - -,*
- - - - -,

Left hand-column (II):

- Khnemhotep,*
Hetepkherty,
Sebeknakht,
^{|20} *Hetepi,*
The foreman Nakht,
Senbebu,
Enyōtef,
Soshen,
^{|25} *Nebshedet,*
‘Antiemsaf,
Hetepkhons,
Nakhti,
Senwōnkh,
^{|30} *‘Antisnofru,*
The foreman Neferwabt,
Ameny,
‘Antihotep,
Khentihotep,
^{|35} *Min(?)hotep,*
- - - - hotep,
- - - - -,
Hotep - - - -,
- - - - -,
^{|40} *- - - - -,*
- - - - -,
‘Anti - - - -,
Iun - - - -,
‘Antimery,
^{|45} *‘Antiiu, the elder,*
Amenywah,
Anpuhotep,
‘Antihotep,
Khentihotep,
^{|50} *‘Antiemhēt,*
Thirty ferrymen^a and thirty peasants.

South edge (possibly identical with WEILL, *Recueil*, no. 80).

‘True acquaintance of the king, his beloved one of his affection, god’s treasurer - - - - -
 true of voice, possessing honour.’

North edge. 259 × 31 cm.

- ^{|1} ‘Scribe of the Treasury *Sehetepibrēr*,
 Governor of Lower Egypt *Hori*,

^a *Dry.*

- Petty official 'Anti,*
Petty official 'Aam,
 |⁵ *Petty official - - - ,*
Petty official Nebmes,^a
Petty official of the Treasury Iti,
Domestic of the réis (?) Oker (?),
Domestic of the réis (?) Oker (?),
 |¹⁰ *The interpreter Hebu (?),*
The interpreter Rens[onb (?)],
The brother of the prince of the Retjenu Khebbed,
Man of the great transport ship (?) ['Ant]ihotep (?),
 |¹⁵ *Man of the great transport ship (?) Kemes,*
Chief physician Renfsomb,
God's treasurer^b Sehetepibrē,
Staff of Selket Imunefer,
Master of masters^c Wēr,
 |²⁰ *Master of masters 'Ankhef,*
The coppersmith - - - - ,
The coppersmith - - - - ,
 - - - - - ,
 - - - - - ,
 |²⁵ *The stone worker - - - ,*
The stone worker I - - - ,
The sculptor 'Ankhu,
Gardeners 2, - - - - 2,
Men of the imnw 60, ✓
 |³⁰ *Asiatics, 10.'*

86. AMMENEMES III, YEAR 5 (Pl. XXVI)

E.E.F. copy, controlled by a rubbing kindly provided by the authorities of the Chadwick Museum, Bolton, where the stela now is (no. 58.05.1). Provenance not given.

Upper portion of a round-topped stela. 28 × 31 cm.

Year 5 under the majesty of the good god, lord of the two lands, lord of action, king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Nemaṛrē, son of Rē, Amenemhēt, [endowed with life]. His majesty sent the god's treasurer, the intendant, courtier of the Great House, leader of recruits, taken into the confidence^a of his lord, the truly beloved of his affection,^e overseer of the kitchen, Ini, true of voice. He says "I did all that which I did - - - - - great 5 geese, - - goats (?) - - - - -".

^a Read Kemes (RANKE, p. 345, 16), ☞ for ☐. The horizontal stroke under ☐ in this and the three preceding lines is inexplicable. It cannot be a horizontal ʾ since this is always placed vertically; it cannot be ☞ to form *pr-ʿ* since *ct* would then lack a determinative, and, furthermore, the title is *try-ʿt n pr-ʿ*.

^b On his function here see SAUNERON, *BIFAO* 51, 147-8.

^c On this title see the commentary to 100, note a.

^d Probably *ḥ[-ib]* (JANSSEN, *Eg. Autobiografie*, pp. 51-52), as M. Yoyotte pointed out to us and not the beginning of a proper name. *Dd:f* in l. 4 shows that one person only was mentioned in the introductory lines. Exactly the same problem turns up again in 113.

^e Reading *mry mʿc n st ibf*.

87. AMMENEMES III, YEAR 5 (Pl. XXIV)

For bibliography see PORTER-MOSS, VII, 348-9.

E.E.F. copy, no controls except a photograph of the lower part of the west face, which is badly worn. Collated with the original on 12.4.1935 when it was found not lying *in situ*.

Round-topped stela, 66 cm. broad and 37 cm. thick, the middle portion lacking in all four faces and the length of the lacuna not being marked on the copies; the inspection in 1935 confirmed that it is impossible to establish the original height of the stela. From the Old Approach to the Cave, see Pl. XCII.

The inscription is dated to Ammenemes III by the mention of Khebbed, brother of the prince of Retjenu.

East face

In the lunette the date 'Year 5 under the majesty of this god'. Below, a monumentally arranged inscription of which the greater part has perished. Apart from the Horus bird with the double crown (probably mounted on the *serekh*) on the left, little is visible except '--- to every nose --- good ----- Horus, lord of the palace -----'.

West face

'Truly beloved of his lord of his affection ---- in the going out, that which is under his heel (?)',^a ---- *Sianüp*. He says "I [my forces arrived] complete in their entirety, there never occurred any loss among them. I caused".

At the bottom are five figures in one row (inscriptions lost) and beneath them another six figures whose names are, so far as is legible, 'The butler (?) *Nefer* (?) ---, overseer (?) of *Sebekdedet*, son^b of *Nebpu*, head of the house of the foremen (?) In ---, domestic of the *rêis* (?) *Khen* ---, domestic of the *rêis* (?) *Khentekhtayhotep*, brother of the prince of Retjenu [*Khebbed*].' The head-dress of the last differs from that of the other five.

North edge

'True acquaintance of the king, his beloved of his affection, god's treasurer, [sole] friend -----, true of voice, possessing honour.' In the right margin is a graffito giving the name 'Coppersmith *Sonb* ---'.

South edge

'True acquaintance of the king, his beloved of his affection, the god's treasurer -----, true of voice, possessing honour.'

88. AMMENEMES III, YEAR 6 (Pl. XXII)

Cf. PORTER-MOSS, VII, 348. E.E.F. copy; collated with the original at the Exhibition. Now in the Pennsylvania University Museum, Philadelphia, E. 15030 A-C.

Small stela, 47 × 25 cm., marked 'against inside of enclosure wall N. of 90'. See Pl. XCII.

'Year 6.° The good god, lord of the two lands *Nemarrêr*, endowed (with life)^d like *Rêr*. The royal

^a Reading *hrt tbsf*.

^b WEILL's notebook has $\overline{\text{an}}$ here.

^c Four strokes are clear. There is not room after these for

⊙ | $\overline{\text{an}}$, nor does this suit the sign drawn by the copyist

which must therefore represent two damaged vertical strokes
| giving year 6.

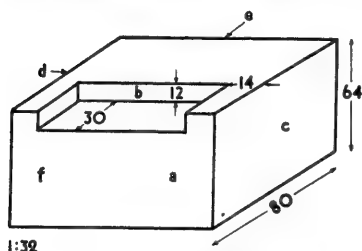
^d *enb* omitted.

acquaintance, the intendant Harwerrē, truly beloved of his lord, of his affection, filling the heart of the king in exploring the foreign lands which the Horus, lord of the palace, curbs.^a The interpreter Penteyni, true of voice.'

89. AMMENEMES III, YEAR 6 (Pl. XXV)

E.E.F. copy, no controls. Collated with the original on 23.4.1935.

Fragments of a 'curiously formed altar, about 41 by 33 in. and 26 in. high', found in the south-east part of the Hathor Cave. See P. R., p. 95 (where, however, it is erroneously said to bear the names 'of Amenemhat II and III'); *Catalogue of the Exhibition*, p. 19; compare the accompanying sketch, fig. 6, for measurements.



1:32

FIG. 6. Altar no. 89.

Front

The right half shows the king actually presenting the offering table, plentifully laden with meat and drink, to Hathor, who holds in her left hand the sign of life and in her right a large sistrum. Below the scene the date: 'Year 5 under the majesty of this [god]'. In the left half we see the goddess, accompanied by the words 'Hathor, lady of the

turquoise, may she give life, - - - and', holding out in her left hand the sign of dominion \uparrow . The inscription at the back of the recess runs, 'Life to the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Nema \bar{c} rē; he made it as [his monument] - - -', the continuation probably being the inscription above the goddess on the left-hand half of the front.

Right side

Above are the remains of the titles of the ' - - - king of Upper and Lower Egypt Kha \bar{c} kaurē - - -'. Below this is a scene which is to be read in conjunction with the hieroglyphs which surround it. On the right the goddess Hathor holds out the signs of dominion, stability and life to the king, behind whom stands the figure of Harwerrē (no longer found in 1935), who holds in his left hand a staff and a lotus flower. Over the king is written, 'Life to the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Kha \bar{c} kaurē, endowed with life', and before him, 'Adoring the god(ess), four times'. Over and behind Hathor is 'Words spoken by^b [Hathor - - - I have given thee] all - - -, all prosperity and all stability like Rē'. Over and behind the third figure is written, 'The true royal acquaintance, his beloved, [the intendant] - - - - Har[werrē]^c - - - -'.

We may infer from this scene that Harwerrē had also served under King Senwosret III.

Left side

Probably a fragment of a similar scene. In this case the figure on the left must be that of the king, though it has no bull's tail. Above and behind the figure on the right (Harwerrē) stood 'True [royal acquaintance], his beloved, the intendant - - -'.

^a Reading *rrw*.

^b The remains of the signs suit $\overline{\text{H}} \overline{\text{U}}$.

^c The upper part of the $\overline{\text{H}}$ is clear, but it is not easy to account for the $\overline{\text{H}}$ above it.

Back

Fragment of the dedicatory inscription: '- - Hathor, making for her a great stairway^a - - - - brought by the intendant, leader of the gangs^b Harwerrē, true of voice.'



90. AMMENEMES III, YEAR 6 (Pl. XXVA AND XXVI)

For bibliography see PORTER-MOSS, VII, 348. E.E.F. copies, controlled in the case of the west face by good photographs (E.E.F., *Survey*, and Borchardt), and the B.M. squeeze. Collated with the original on 12.4.1935. The E.E.F. copies only covered the inscriptions of the west face and north edge, and it is evident from Petrie's original list that only these two sides were copied by the E.E.F. expedition. For the east face and south edge we had also Prof. de Buck's hand-copy.


Round-topped stela from the Old Approach. For its position see Pl. XCII, P. R., pp. 73 and 82, also fig. 114. Dimensions of face 265 × 67 cm.




West face

¹ 'The majesty of this god sent the god's treasurer, the intendant, leader of the gangs,^c Harwerrē, ² to this mining country. This country was reached in the third month of winter, though it was not the season for coming ³ to this mining district. This god's treasurer says to the officials who shall come to this mining district at this season: ⁴ Do not be downcast because of it. Behold, it is to good that Hathor will bring it. ⁵ Look at me,^e I have proved it in my own person. I came from Egypt ⁶ while I was downcast. Hard was it in my opinion to find the (right) colour^f when^g the foreign country was hot ⁷ in summer, the hills branded (one) and the colour troubled.^h On the morning ⁸ of my rallyⁱ at Rokhet I kept on addressing the craftsmen concerning it: ⁹ "Successful is he who is in this mining country". And they said, "There is turquoise ¹⁰ in the hill for ever. It is the (right) colour that is sought at this season, for ¹¹ we have been used to hear likewise that the ore is forthcoming at this season, but^j it is the (right) colour ¹² which it lacks^k in this evil season of summer." ¹³ (So) I kept on going to this mining country, the will of the king putting (it) in my heart. ¹⁴ Then when I reached this land, I began the work, at a favourable moment. ¹⁵ My expedition returned complete in its entirety, no loss had ever occurred among it. I was not downcast ¹⁶ at the prospect of the labour, as I had arrived (just) to seize a favourable moment. I broke off in the first month ¹⁷ of summer. I brought away this precious stone. I did more ¹⁸ than anyone who had come and

^a Neither *rwd* 'stairway' nor *htyw* 'terrace' for which  could stand are feminine words. But whatever the reading of the word is, we have here the designation for the object itself on which the inscription is placed. The recess evidently justifies its being called a 'stairway'. The steps marked on the hieroglyph are too many for the sign to be simply a careless form of  'seat'.

^b *Hrp skw*, see note to 90.



^c Same title as  in 89; other occurrences, Cairo stelae 20023, 20075, 20353, 20391; Louvre stela C40 (publ. GAYET, pl. 23); B.M. stela [238], publ. *Hieroglyphic Texts*, iii, pl. 15. The reading of the title is *hrp skw*; for *skw* see BLACKMAN, *BIFAO* 30, 99, (1) for references.

^d Accepting Blackman's interpretation as  though the sign does not look like  in the original, and Polotsky's view of the function of the 'emphatic' form  as stressing the adverbial adjunct *n nfr*.

^e *ri* is a particle emphasizing the 1st person sing., see GARDINER, *Notes on the Story of Sinuhe*, p. 32.

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^f *Inm* means not only 'skin' but also 'colour of the skin' and 'colour' in general to such an extent as to seem confounded with *imn* 'colour', compare *Wb.* I, 96 with 52. It refers to the widespread belief in antiquity concerning the changing colour of the turquoise. The recognition of the correct meaning of *imn* here is vital for the understanding of the whole inscription, and is due to LORET, *Kémi*, I, 99-114. Earlier commentators had missed the point completely (SETHE, *Erläuterungen zu den ägypt. Lesestücken*, pp. 142 ff.; BLACKMAN, *BIFAO* 30, 97 ff.).

^g  is not a suffix of *imn* but forms with the following somewhat indistinct sign the conjunction .

^h *Hn* (*Wb.* III, 367, 11) undoubtedly identical with *hnn* (*Wb.* III, 384, 2. 3 of 'troubled' eye, sight), the old perfective of a IIae gem. verb showing, as usual, no gemination.

ⁱ *Ts.i*.

^j *Ms* is the particle, GARDINER, *Gr.*, § 251.

^k For *gww* r see KUENTZ, *BIFAO* 34, 162. The suffix in *rs* does not refer to *imn* (which is masculine), but is neuter.

more than that which had been commanded. There was nothing to be wished for in (the way of) good colour. |¹⁹ "The two eyes are in festival"^a was kinder than (at) its proper seasons. Offer, |²⁰ offer you to the mistress of heaven, appease Hathor. If you do it it will be profitable |²¹ to you, and you will render more than what is ordained of you. |²² I accomplished my expedition with great success without a voice being raised |²³ against my work which I have done^b excellently.^c The whole expedition and company |²⁴ - - - |²⁵ - - - |²⁶ - - -.'

The last two lines of the main inscription have entirely perished. Below are preserved three registers containing lists of persons who took part in the expedition, the first two registers showing also human figures beside the names. Of the uppermost there remains only the name 'The petty official Ib' and part of a name compounded with *Sa* (?). In the middle register are the figures of five persons named:

'The petty official Khumnakht.
The petty official Ukem.
The petty official of the Treasury Renfsonb.
The domestic of the réis Khentihotep.
The "protection of Selket",^d Inpunakht.'

In the bottom register are the names:

'Overseer of the force of stone-cutters Khet.
The . . . réis Kemen.
The . . . réis Sebekwēr.
The . . . réis Hori.
The réis Ik.
The réis Seshen.
The réis Khenbeb (?).
The réis Ipu.
The butler Netjerirf (?).
The wēb-priest Gebu.
The réis Ii.
The stone-cutter Sebekem. . . .'

North edge

'True royal acquaintance, his beloved one of his affection, courtier of the Great House, the god's treasurer, Harwerret, true of voice (?), - - - - - Sebekrō.'

Around the bottom of the main inscription on this edge are the graffiti giving the names of other members of the expedition:

'The stone-carver Si . . . neb, conceived of Nutmes. The stone-cutter Khentekhtayhotep. The domestic of the Treasury Ip. The butler Ini. The butler Ta'

South edge

'True royal acquaintance, his beloved of his affection, courtier of the Great House, [god's] treasurer - - - - -.'

^a Probably the name of the mine.

^b Perhaps read *iri-n-i* after all.

^c *m'r*.

^d On this title of professional magicians see GARDINER, *PSBA* 39, 44, and *Wb.* III, 414, 7.

^e Weill's notebook shows at the end of the line . . .

East face

This contained, as always on these large stelae, the royal inscription, but all that is left is the dating 'Year 6 under the majesty of'. Below this traces of the head-dress of the goddess Hathor are still visible, of the inscription only 'lord of joy' is recognizable. Farther down is the title of an official 'intendant' and at the bottom a man undoubtedly offering to a god or king before whom stands an altar.

91. AMMENEMES III, YEAR 8 (Pl. XXXIII A)

For bibliography see PORTER-MOSS, VII, 356. E.E.F. copy; no means of control for the east face except a worthless drawing of the upper part (Burton, p. 58); for the west face photographs (E.E.F., P. R., fig. 125, and *Survey*, III, pl. 16, fig. 2); for the east face photograph E.E.F., P. R., fig. 120. Collated with the original on 25.4.1935.

Round-topped stela from the west wall of the Portico Court. See Pl. XCII and P. R., p. 92. Breadth of face 60 cm.

East face




In the lunette is the date 'Year 8'. Below this was a scene showing the king worshipping on the right Hathor, and on the left either Hathor again or some other deity. Above are the kingly titles 'The good god, lord of the two lands, Nemaerêr, beloved of Hathor'. Below the scene the six vertical lines which extend to the bottom of the stela have only the ends intact. Between their upper parts and the ends is a gap of 30 inches (according to a note on the copy): |¹ '[True] royal acquaintance ----- |² ----- excellent ----- of the land |³ of Setjet (= Asia) ----- that which was said to the sky (?) and to the mountains because he was excellent |⁴ ----- beloved of Hathor, lady of the turquoise, bringing |⁵ ----- in gold and sistras of (?) --- [I presented to her] offerings of oxen and geese, incense |⁶ [upon] the flame. I [made] for her festival courtyards and provided [her altars] ----- I [doubled] any travel to this place.' The intendant Snofru, true of voice.'

West face

The lunette appears to be blank. Below are remains of at least eight lines of horizontal inscription, apparently detailing the offerings to the goddess:

'----- offerings

	the first(?) day,	the second day,	the third day,	the fourth day,	the fifth day,	the sixth day,	the day of festival(?)
ox	I	-	-	-	-	-	-
ro-geese	I	I	I	-	-	-	-
pigeons	2	2	-	-	-	-	40
ibexes	-	-	2	2	2	3	I
goats	2	-	-	-	-	-	3
beer(?)	-	-	-	-	-	-	2

; the vase, however, is certainly not , but belongs to the representation of the drinking man who is filling his bowl from it. The remains above this scene looked to Černý like the hind leg of the chair of , the determinative of a

proper name (see the det. of *Hrwrr* on north edge).

^a Restore from 53, ll. 14-16: [*hrp-n-i n. s*] *htpw[-ntr]* *krw rrw sntr* |⁶ [*hr s*] *dt* [*ir-n.*] *i n:s wsht-hbyt sdj*·[*n-i hrwt-s*] ----- [*kb-n*]·*i* *ii nb r st tn*.

92. AMMENEMES III, YEAR 13 (Pl. XXVII)

For bibliography see PORTER-MOSS, VII, 349. E.E.F. copies, for details of controls see under the separate sides. Collated with the original 31.3.1935.

Round-topped stela, inscribed on all four sides, but much weathered. For position in the Old Approach see our Pl. XCII and P. R., p. 85, first sentence of middle paragraph.

East face

Compared with an E.E.F. photograph, which was too small to be of any use. There may have been some 10 or 11 horizontal lines in all. Breadth 56 cm.

In the lunette is the date, '(Year) 13'. The framework of the inscription consists of the sign of heaven upheld on either side by a *uas*-sceptre. The top register contains the titulary '*The good god, lord of the two lands, king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Ne[mac]rēr, endowed with life - - - -*', and on the left a figure of '*Ptah*,^a [*south*] of his wall' in a shrine. Of the horizontal lines of the inscription below only a few signs remain.

West face

Compared with B.M. squeeze and with photographs by E.E.F. and Survey, III, 12. Breadth 54 cm.

'*Name-list of his company who came with him. The tȝw^b Kemsu. The overseer of transport ships U - - uu, life, prosperity and health. The interpreter Ky. The interpreter Amen. Four petty officials of the Great House, Senwosret, Sepa (?), Khnumu, and Khnumu. The domestic of the rēis Renfonb. The domestic of the rēis Renfonkh.*' After line 8 were another nine slightly smaller lines now completely weathered away, each beginning with the title '*foreman*'.

North edge. Breadth 34 cm. No controls.

'*The truly beloved of his lord, the god's treasurer, the intendant (?) - - - - -*'

South edge, collated with good E.E.F. photograph. Breadth 30 cm.

'*Brother of the prince of Retjenu, Khebbed. The ferryman Senytf. The tȝw of the Treasury Kemi. His father (?) Kheperkerēr, The - - ep (?) , Kemi (?)*' Of the lines below little or nothing remains.

93. AMMENEMES III, YEAR 15 (Pl. XXVIII)

For the bibliography see PORTER-MOSS, VII, 353. E.E.F. copies, controlled by an E.E.F. photograph which gives a good direct view of the south edge and a useless slanting view of the west face. Collated with the original on 22.4.1935.

Round-topped stela, whose position in the Court just outside the Hathor Hanafiyah is given by Petrie's rough unpublished plan. See our Pl. XCII. Not mentioned in P. R.

East face. 173 × 64 cm.

In the lunette is the date, '*Year 15*'. Below are the fragmentary remains of a long inscription of which the square space at the top and the two following lines give the titulary of Ammenemes III. '*Horus "Great of might", - - - -, golden Horus "[Wah-]rankh", king of Upper and Lower Egypt*

^a I must have stood in front of Ptah's shrine.

^b There seems to be no evidence whatsoever bearing upon the meaning of this not uncommon title (*Wb.* v, 349, 9).

-----beloved of-----, endowed with life ---- for ever.' Then follow the titles and name of the actual dedicator: 'Royal acquaintance, - - - - chief [steward]^a Amen[ysoshenen],^b - - - - king's favourite - - - -'. The rest is lost.

West face. 178 × 62 cm.

For the form of this inscription compare 103. The first three lines contain an offering formula of the usual type.

'An offering-which-the-king-gives for [the ka of] the god's treasurer, deputy of the chief steward Amenysoshenen, conceived of Ituneferu, 'the Asiatic.'

Below this is a scene in which Ameny is represented as the deceased sitting before an offering table on the other side of which are 'His brother Mehy' and 'His brother Anek'. The next line contains two names with titles: 'Scribe Senwosret' and 'Guild - - - Tj - - mtj'. Below is a much-damaged scene showing two offering tables and two figures. The few signs left are unintelligible. Next came a line of names and titles of which we can read only 'Overseer of troops Iufnai'. Below is another double scene similar to the last, with no hieroglyphs remaining. A line of names and titles follows of which 'The ferryman (?) Innebu (or Inku)' and 'The petty official of the Great House' (twice) is all that is visible. Still lower is yet another double offering scene, followed by a line of inscription of which only two signs remain, and two further lines giving the names *Khenems* and *Snefruwēr* (?), the titles being lost in both cases.

North edge. 160 × 40 cm.

¹ 'True acquaintance of the king, his beloved, foster-child of the king of Upper Egypt, ward^c of [the king of Lower Egypt], pupil of Horus, lord [of the palace] - - - -.'

² True royal acquaintance, his beloved, to whom the officials come bending, chief of [Upper and] Lower Egypt, foster-child of the lord of - - - -, deputy ³ of the chief steward - - -, ⁴ [A]meny-Soshenen, ⁵ - - - - -.'

South edge. 156 × 40 cm.

¹ 'An offering-which-the-king-gives (to) Hathor, lady of the turquoise, for the ka of the treasurer of the king of Lower Egypt, the sole friend - - - -.'

² An offering-which-the-king-gives for the ka of - - - -, the deputy of the [chief] steward (?), chancellor (?) [A]men[y-Soshenen].'

The Ameny of this inscription is the author of a whole group of monuments, nos. 93-99.

94. AMMENEMES III (Pls. XXIX and XXXIII)

For bibliography see PORTER-MOSS, VII, 357. E.E.F. copies, collated with B.M. squeezes in the case of (a) and a small portion of (b). Collated with the originals on 31.3.1935.

All the inscriptions included under this number with the exception of (h) come from the walls of the Hathor Cave. The markings on the E.E.F. copies, aided by the notes of Palmer (*Notebook*, p. 28) and Borchardt (*ZAS* 35 (1897), 112-15) enabled us to assign almost every fragment to its correct position on the walls. See also P. R., pp. 94-95.

^a Reading [𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏] 𓂏, as found on west face.

^b The man's name is to be reconstituted [𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏] [𓂏𓂏] on the west face, l. 2, and [𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏] [𓂏𓂏] at the bottom of the north edge, the existence of [𓂏𓂏] being vouchsafed by 94.

We see no other way of explaining the name than to take [𓂏𓂏] literally: *sšw-n* 'our lotus', this being the pet addition by the parents to the common name Ameny.

^c *Sdty*; this word, not in *Wb.*, seems to be a derivative of *šdī* 'bring up', *Wb.* IV, 564, 17.

Fragments (a) and (b). Length over all 330 cm.

These are the upper parts of the inscription on the north (precisely north-east) wall. Fragment *b* follows *a* on the right, after a blank space of 16 cm.

Fragment (a)

'[True] royal acquaintance ----- conceived of Hathor ----- His [mother (??)] Akhtoy, conceived of ----- His eldest brother Ka ----- His brother Nakht ----- His brother Sonb, conceived of ----- His brother Ameny, brother ----- His sister Sithathor, conceived of ----- His sister Itu, conceived of ----- His sister Keft ----- cool draughts of water ----- incense for the count of Sšš-ī ----- (?) ----- Khentekhtayhotep, true of voice (?) ----- His mother ----- His father ----- His sister Sit ----- His sister ----- His sister Rep ----- Nebtnūhet^a ----- Her daughter [Sit (?)]-Hathor --- Her daughter Sit ----- Henutsen^b ----- Khut, conceived of Sit ----- Ptahmer, conceived of ----- His father Sen -----.'

Fragment (b)

'True royal [acquaintance], [his] beloved, overseer --- Isdes^c ----- royal dignitary (?) -----, conceived of Didit, true of voice, possessing honour.'

'The interpreter -- ten, conceived of ----- The interpreter ----- His father ----- The petty official Horiru (?), true of voice, possessing [honour] (?). Petty official of the Treasury, Khenemsu, conceived of ----- beloved, to whom Hathor has given (?) ----- turquoise ----- incense [to the] ka -----.'

Fragments (c) and (d). Height 45 cm.

These come from the east (precisely south-east) wall, (c) occupying the space between the smaller of the two recesses and the corner, (d) that between the two recesses. See Pl. XCII.

(c) contains the formula 'An offering-which-the-king-gives (to) Hathor, lady of the turquoise, for the ka of [the deputy] of the chief steward Ameny-Soshenen', and in (d) we see, seated before an offering table, the author of this group of inscriptions: 'The deputy of the chief steward Ameny-Soshen' (sic).

Fragment (e). Height 20 cm.

This is from the same east (or south-east) wall, but lay south (that is, to the right) of the larger (central) recess. 'True royal acquaintance, chief intendant Neferhotep.'

Fragment (f). Length 30 cm.

This is the beginning of an inscription from the right-hand half of the south wall of which nothing more survives. 'True royal [acquaintance], foster-child of the king of Upper Egypt, -----.'

Fragment (g), 11 × 22 cm., was marked 'N. Sanct.', presumably meaning the Hathor Cave. It seems to be part of a request to all comers to say a *ḥtp-dī-nsw* prayer for the author.^d This fragment was not found again in 1935.

^a Proper name (RANKE, p. 188, 22) or an epithet of Hathor ('Lady of the Sycamore').

^b A proper name.

^c For this deity see *Wb.* I, 134, 10-12; SETHE, *Die Sprüche für das Kennen der Seelen der heiligen Orte*, pp. 34 and 145.

^d *ḥṭy-sn r* --- *ḥtp dī-n ḥtp-dī-nsw* ---

Fragment (h) (Pl. XXXIII). Length 180 cm.

This forms the bottom register of the south wall of the Portico and has been inadvertently located on the south wall of the Hathor Cave on Pl. XCII. It should there replace '? 125'.

On the left is Hathor seated in a shrine; behind her are two hawks on perches and remains of another perch behind. Offerings are being made to her by a king followed by a number of private persons. The inscription over the scene has practically disappeared. The name of one of the men seems to be [] Renfsonb.

The right-hand part of the scene, starting with and including the fourth small-size person, is sculptured on the stela of Sebekhotep (405) which has been used as building material in the south wall of the portico.

A small fragment found in 1935 in the Sanctuary (Q) may belong to one of the inscriptions of 94, since it shows approximately the same width of lines, 8 cm., see the accompanying figure 7: '*Intendant - - - -, true of voice, possessing [honour].*'



FIG. 7. Small fragment, probably from no. 94.

Fragment (i)

Almost under the beginning of the inscription in vertical columns there are traces of a second and third register. The second, at a height of 46 cm. from the floor of the cave, consisted of a row of male figures represented kneeling in front of offering tables. They were separated from each other by vertical lines and in front of each were written their titles and names, which have almost entirely disappeared. The third register seems to have been of a similar nature, but only the heads of two figures have survived with their titles and names: '- - - - Ityu (?)' and '*serving-man* (wb3) Iny'.^a

95. AMMENEMES III (Pl. XXX)

E.E.F. copy, no controls. Collated with the original on 22.4.1935.

Inscriptions from a large altar found in the north-west part of the Hathor Cave (P. R., pp. 95, 98; *Catalogue of the Exhibition*, p. 19).

The upper surface of the altar is cut in the usual form and round its margin runs the inscription: '*The good god, lord of the two lands, Nemaṛrē, he [made] (it) as (his monument)^b to his mother Hathor, lady of the turquoise. King of Upper [and Lower Egypt Ne]maṛrē, beloved of Hathor, [lady of the] turquoise, endowed with life. Son of Rē Amenemhēt, beloved of Hathor, lady of the turquoise, living eternally.*'

On the front is a double scene showing Hathor holding out the signs of dominion and life to the king, who is represented by a Horus-bird wearing the white crown and perching on the *serekh*; behind the king is the figure of Ameny holding in his hand a white-bread loaf or other conical object. Above the whole scene is a line of inscription which reads similarly from either end inwards to the centre, where it is continued by a vertical line down the middle of the scene.

'- - - - the good god Nemaṛrē, endowed with life eternally; he [made] (it) as his monument to Hathor.'^c

^a The floor, not indicated in the Plate, is at a distance of 46 cm. from the bottom of the two offering-tables represented in the upper half of the picture.

^b The words '*his monument*' are inadvertently omitted in

the original.

^c There can be no doubt that the female figure at the end of the inscription stands for Hathor, not for the determinative of Aamet.

Between and above the two figures of Amený is the following, arranged in a similar double fashion.

'Truly beloved of his lord,^a the deputy of the chief steward Amený, conceived of (Ituneferu),^b the Asiatic.'

The third piece of this group (copy marked 'right side') was evidently one of the ends of this altar, judging by its size and style, though there was no mark on the copy to show to which of the two altars (89 or 95) it belongs. The association of Nubkaurêc and Amený in 96 favoured its attribution to 95, and indeed it was not easy to see how it could be fitted into the right side of 89. Petrie, however, took the fragment to be a part of 89. This is clear from some rough drawings by him showing the manner in which he contemplated arranging certain of the inscriptions in plates for publication. It is curiously confirmed by the fact that he wrongly attributes altar 89 to Ammenemes II (Nubkaurêc) and Ammenemes III (P. R., p. 95), a slip which undoubtedly arose from the occurrence of the private name Nubkaurêc on the fragment in question, which must therefore have been grouped by Petrie with 89.^c

'An offering-which-the-king-gives (to) Hathor, lady of the turquoise, for the ka of the - - - manager of divine offerings of Hathor Nubkaurêc, conceived of Hathor, true of voice, possessing [honour].'

96. AMMENEMES III (Pl. XXXII)

Hand copy from E.E.F. photograph. Scale not known. Collated with the original on 2.4.1935, but measurements were not taken.

Badly weathered stela. Provenance not stated; de Buck saw it in 1930 'N. of Sanctuary'.

'The good god, lord of the two lands, Nemaerêc, endowed with life, stability and dominion like Rêc. True acquaintance of the king, his beloved, the deputy of the chief steward^d Amený, conceived of Ituneferu. An offering-which-the-king-gives to Hathor for the ka of the manager of the divine offerings Nubkaurêc. - - - - - , true of voice, possessing honour. - - - - - . To the ka (of) the manager of the divine offerings Nubkaurêc, possessing [honour]. - - - - - woser, possessing honour, true of voice. - - - - - turquoise - - - - - his - - - - - Woser.'

97. AMMENEMES III, YEAR 10+X (Pl. XXVI)


E.E.F. copy collated with the original.

Portion of a round-topped stela, very badly weathered, now at University College, London. Provenance unknown.

[¹ 'Year 10 (+x [under the majesty of]) [² the good god, lord of the two lands, king of Upper [and Lower] Egypt - - - - -, endowed with life for ever. [³ An offering-which-the-king-gives for the ka of the deputy of the chief steward Amený, - - - . [⁴ An offering-which-the-king-gives (to) Hathor, lady of the turquoise, - - - - -]⁵ illegible.

98. AMMENEMES III (Pl. XXXIII)


E.E.F. copy, corrected from E.E.F. photograph in the case of the inscription on the right side

^a Reading .

^b Cf. 93 W., 98 right and left.

^c Though there is no clear indication in the notes made in 1935 it seems likely that this piece was then seen and collated; if so, it is really part of 95, since otherwise a statement to the

contrary could be expected in the corrected copy of the first edition.

^d The hand-copy here was left unaltered when collated with the original, but surely  is the true reading, supported by Petrie's photograph.

of the pedestal, and in other cases collated with a hand copy kindly provided by the authorities of the Haskell Museum, Chicago.

Small red sandstone statuette of a sitting woman in a long, close-fitting garment,^a broken into four parts. Now at the Haskell Museum, Chicago, no. 8663. Provenance unknown. Height of pedestal 21 cm.

Front of pedestal

Beside the left leg: '*The good god Nemarrē, beloved of Hathor*'; beside the right leg: '*Son of Rē Amenemhēt, endowed with life*'; beside the left foot: '*Her^b beloved daughter*.'

Top of base, in front of the feet (continuation of the preceding):

'*The hereditary princess, great in favour, great in charm, priestess of Hathor, lady of the turquoise, Neit-okret,^c true of voice, possessing honour*.'

Front and part of sides of base, in large signs:

'*Deputy of the chief steward Ameny, conceived of Ituneferu*.'

Left side of seat

'*True acquaintance of the king, his beloved, overseer of all the king's property, god's treasurer, deputy of the chief steward Ameny-Soshenen, conceived of Ituneferu, the Asiatic, possessing honour*.'

Right side of seat (in retrograde lines):

'*An offering-which-the-king-gives (to) Hathor, lady of the turquoise, for the god's treasurer, deputy of the chief steward, Ameny, whose good^d name is Soshenen, true of voice, conceived of Ituneferu, the Asiatic, true of voice, conceived of Sit-Urtehu*.'

Back of seat

'*[An offering-which-the-king-gives (to)] Hathor, lady of the turquoise, for the god's treasurer, foster-child of the king of Upper Egypt, [ward of the king of Lower Egypt]^e whom Horus, lord of the palace, taught,^f the deputy [of the chief steward] Ameny, conceived of Ituneferu, the Asiatic, true of voice*.'

99. AMMENEMES III (no copy)

Petrie in P. R., p. 105, states that 'the door from the portico court leading southward is inscribed by Ameny, who carved the Cave of Hathor in the XIIth Dynasty'. Apparently no copy was made of the inscriptions. Not seen in 1935.

100. AMMENEMES III, YEAR 20 (Pl. XXXI)

For bibliography see PORTER-MOSS, VII, 349. E.E.F. copies, no controls except in the case of the west face, which was compared with the B.M. squeeze (ll. 1-5) and with *Survey* and E.E.F. photographs. Collated with the original on 12.4.1935.

Round-topped stela, inscribed on all four sides. This is clearly the 'very thick and short stele

^a In the *Exhibition Catalogue* (p. 14) it appears to be called a figure of Hathor.

^b To whom does this pronoun refer?

^c The determinative is the woman with the >< sign on her head, as shown by the Haskell copy.

^d The < belongs to ♂, though ♂< is an unusual spelling.

^e Reading ♂<♂, see 93 N. edge.

^f Emend ♂< as in 93 N. edge.

with names of officials in the reign of Amenemhat III' (P. R., p. 85), and its position as fixed by this identification is confirmed by E.E.F. photographs. It is the most easterly stela in the Old Approach (see our Pl. XCII).

East face. 43 × 60 cm.

The inscription is destroyed except at the top. Above is the date, 'Year 20'. Below this are the name and titles: 'The good god, lord of the two lands Nemaṛēr'.

West face. 152 × 60 cm.

Portions of twelve lines of inscription remain, of which the first six are practically complete: |¹ The god's treasurer, the intendant, Ptah-ronkh, true of voice, possessing honour; |² The master of masters^a Sankh-ni-Ptah; |³ The assistant treasurer of the overseer of treasure Iufnai,^b conceived of Iki; |⁴ The judge Senb-nebf-Senenankef; |⁵ The petty official Sebk-rō; the interpreter Kai; |⁶ The petty official Sesheny; the interpreter Khackau; |⁷ ----- ren; |⁸ ----- |⁹ ----- |¹⁰ --- Snofru (?); |¹¹ ----- six hundred; |¹² ----- ten; |¹³ ----- |¹⁴ ----- one.'

South edge. 150 × 44 cm.

Only the upper part of the inscription remains: 'Foster-child of the king of Upper Egypt ----- of the Treasury, the intendant Renfsonb (Sen)en-^cIni, possessing honour.'

North edge. 135 × 44 cm.

Only the upper half of the inscription remains: 'One who came into being at^d the feet of his majesty, child of the (royal) nursery,^e Renfsonb, Senen-Ini, true of voice, -----.'

101. AMMENEMES III (Pl. XXXII)

E.E.F. copies, no controls. Not found again in 1935. Fragments of a 'split stela' found in Room G according to the marking of the copies.

The stela is dated to Ammenemes III by the mention of Renfsonb (see 100 and 102).

On the face (copy marked 'edge!') was a list, now almost entirely perished, of different kinds of workmen taking part in the expedition and the numbers of each.

On edge A remains only '----- [Renf]sonb ---, conceived of Sit-ptah, possessing honour'.

Edge B reads '----- Ptahronkh --- deputy (?) of the overseer of treasure Inen ---, true of voice, possessing honour'.

101 A. AMMENEMES III (Pl. XXXII)

E.E.F. copy, no control. Not found again in 1935.

Nothing is known of the provenance of this fragment. The copy is not marked in any way, but was wrapped with those of 101, with which the name Renfsonb also connects it. It cannot be part of the same stela, for it is not broad enough for a face and we already have both edges. In appearance

^a For this title of sculptor see *Cemeteries of Abydos*, II, 120, no. 24; COUYAT-MONTET, p. 47, no. 40; DE MORGAN, *Cat. des mon.* I, 115, no. 11 bis; Cairo stela, 20431 q. The title is attested in Demotic, GRIFFITH, *Cat. of the Dem. Graffiti of the Dodecaschoenus*, I, Index, pp. 298-9. A bilingual text translates it ἀγαλατογλύπτης.

^b For this man see 105 N. edge.

^c To be corrected thus, see S. edge.

^d This meaning of *hr* has been pointed out by GUNN, *JEA* 27, 145, who quotes *hr rdwt-ki*, LACAU, *Sarcophages*, p. 201 (no. 28055).

^e See GARDINER, *PSBA* 39, 32.

it closely resembles 144, which again mentions Renfsonb, and its phraseology can be emended with the help of 405, in which it recurs in part.

[¹ 'True [acquaintance of the king,] his beloved, of his affection, the only one^a useful to the king of Upper Egypt, the great one of^b the king of Lower Egypt, --- |² ---, who enters^c into any secret^d . . . , god's treasurer of Nut, Renfsonb, true of voice, [possessing honour], - - |³ - - [in treading] the foreign countries to bring the precious gems, of whom it was said,^e his advice^f was useful - - - .']

102. AMMENEMES III, YEAR 23 (Pl. XLIV)

For bibliography see PORTER-MOSS, VII, 349. E.E.F. copy, collated with a good E.E.F. photograph. Collated with the original and completed on 20.4.1935, when it was found lying in the Shrine of Kings.

Round-topped stela, the position of which at the north-west corner of the Shrine of the Kings is shown in Pl. XCII (see P. R., p. 83, and fig. 113).^g 88 × 56 cm.

East face

In the lunette is the date, 'Year 23'. Below is the winged disk with uraei, and below this again an inscription arranged in monumental fashion: 'King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Nema^hrē, endowed with life, stability and dominion like Rē eternally; lord of the two lands - - -, [beloved of] Hathor, lady of the lapis-lazuli, beloved of Hathor, lady of the turquoise.'

The description of Hathor as lady of the lapis-lazuli is remarkable. It is the only case in our inscriptions from Sinai where she is connected with any mineral or gem other than turquoise.

North edge and South edge

Each containing the beginning of a titulary, 'The god's treasurer, the intendant - - -'.

West face



Remains of the last two lines: - - - the troops giving me - - - - I found water among them - - -'.

103. AMMENEMES III, YEAR 25 (Pl. XLIV)




For bibliography see PORTER-MOSS, VII, 353. E.E.F. copies, controlled by a fair E.E.F. photograph in the case of the west face. Collated with the original in 1935.

Round-topped stela; position marked in Pl. XCII at the north-east corner of the Hathor Ḥana-fiyah. It is said by Petrie (P. R., p. 85) to have been re-inscribed^h by Tuthmosis III, along with 198, but there seems to be no evidence of this in the present case. The east face is visible in P. R., fig. 100, on the right.

^a Read .

^b For *n bity* cf. 401. The writing  for  occurs also in the next line (*šb*).

^c Read .

^d Read   .

^e Read   as in 405.

^f Probably read   as in 405.

^g The dimensions of the socket seemed 'too large for 102' on inspection in 1935, but 102 is the top of a stela and one

would expect its dimensions to be smaller than those of the base. What was it then that entitled Petrie to say (P. R., p. 83, at bottom) that the 'socket fits the size of the broken stele' 102? Starr (*Stud. and Doc.* VI, 12) designates as 102 the base terminating the west wall of the Shrine of Kings (the unhatched square on Pl. XCII) which on the photograph (i.e., Pl. 3, fig. 6) shows remains of vertical lines of an inscription copied neither by the E.E.F. expedition nor in 1935. According to Starr no. 102 of our Pl. XCII is not a stela but 'a base for some object'.

^h P. R., p. 105, however, does not seem to bear this out.

East face

Nothing is preserved except the date, 'Year 25', in the lunette and, below it, the two sacred eyes and the top of a cartouche with the sign ☉.

West face, 194 × 60 cm.

'An offering-which-the-king-gives for the ka of the intendant, governor of Lower Egypt, Renfronkh Nehy, possessing honour, conceived of - - -, true of voice, possessing honour.' Then follows a scene showing [Renfronkh] Nehy on the left and another figure on the right sitting before an offering table placed in the middle. Below, 'The scribe of the governing body of the Treasury (?)^a Nemi' followed by a similar scene. The rest of the face is inscribed and figured with scenes on similar lines but very little else is legible. For the alternate lines of inscription with scenes of offering see 93. At the bottom, and over the last two (?) lines of the inscription, is the representation of a man riding a donkey led by another man on foot; for this scene see p. 206.

South edge

A few useless fragments of names, among which 'conceived of Sīpen (?)', possessing honour' alone is legible.

North edge. Weathered.

104. AMMENEMES III, YEAR 27 (Pl. XXXVI)

E.E.F. copy collated with the original. It is impossible to collate line 5 satisfactorily, for the stela was broken across at this point and the cement with which it was mended has filled most of the signs.

Round-topped stela, 45 × 27 cm., of red sandstone; provenance unknown. The signs are roughly cut and ill-defined. Now in Manchester University Museum (no. 980).

|¹ 'Year 27 under the majesty of |² the good god, lord of the two lands, lord of initiative, king of Upper and Lower Egypt, |³ Nemarrē, living for ever, beloved of Hathor, lady of the turquoise, |⁴ and of the king of Upper and Lower Egypt Snofru, true of voice. |⁵ The true acquaintance of the king, his beloved, favourite of the king in the 'at-chamber, open of heart, domestic - - -, |⁶ favourite of the king,, guardian of the double Treasury, frank of face in regard to what is entrusted to him,^b whose arrival is awaited^c in the house of gold |⁷ on the day of opening the mouth, whose arrival is awaited^c in the house of bronze (?) on the day of creating,^d priest of Nut, god's treasurer; |⁸ an offering-which-the-king-gives (to) Hathor, lady of the turquoise, for the ka of Khenhausenonkh, conceived of Hetepuy, possessing honour.'

105. AMMENEMES III, YEAR 30 (Pl. XXXIV)

For bibliography see PORTER-MOSS, VII, 354. E.E.F. copies, compared in the case of the west face with a Lottinograph (LL., pl. 8, no. 5). Collated with the original on 11.4.1935.

Round-topped stela inscribed on all four sides. It stood in the north-east corner of the Sanctuary,

^a Read ?

^b *Pgj-hr hr wḏt n.f.*

^c *Srw twt.f*, for which see Spiegelberg, ZÄS 64, 72-73; Wb. III, 419, 2. 3.

^d For *msi* in connexion with metal work see Sethe, ZÄS 53, 52. *Hrw msot* with direct genitive as in *ḡṡṡ-*msice** 'birthday'.

as is proved both by Petrie's original rough plan and by an E.E.F. photograph which shows it in relation to 112.

This stela differs from most of those of the same period in that it bears a royal inscription on both faces instead of on the east only.

West face. Breadth 63 cm.

In the lunette the date, 'Year 30'. Below, in large characters and in three vertical columns, 'The Horus "Great of might", two goddesses, "Seizer of the inheritance [of the two lands]', golden Horus "Abiding of life".'

The rest of the face is obliterated and replaced by a figure of Amon-Rê, 'Lord of the thrones of the two lands'. Above him 'King of Upper [Egypt] - - - - - beloved of (?) - - - - -' is still discernible.

Signs $\frac{f}{\text{A}}$ $\frac{f}{\text{B}}$ are clearly visible below the figure of Amon-Rê, but no more could be read on the stone. The signs below probably refer to an official who took part in the expedition '[Petty] official of the Treasury Si[mon]t'.

East face. 270 × 63 cm.

This is badly defaced. In the upper portion was apparently a royal titulary identical with that on the west face. The inscription below this probably contained the name of the king 'beloved of - - - - , endowed with life', followed by a *hṭp-di-nsw* prayer for the 'Royal acquaintance, - - - - , intendant, governor of Lower Egypt, follower of - - - - - [conceived of] - - - - -y, true of voice, possessing honour'. Then was mentioned 'List of - - - - - [governor] of Lower Egypt Nehy - - - - -', clearly the Nehy of 103. For the smaller inscription at the bottom the copy is too fragmentary to be of any use. There is a reference to 'lapis lazuli and turquoise'; and '3 ngw-oxen,^a 2 wꜣd-birds,^b and 4 pigeons'^c are mentioned, probably as offerings to Hathor. In the last line we read 'An offering-which-the-king-gives (to) Hathor (?) - - - - -'.

North edge. 226 × 39 cm.

This contains a long list of names. The stone is much defaced and the copy insufficient.

[¹ 'Assistant of the overseer of the treasure Iufnai^d [son of] Iki.

The interpreter 'Ankhu - - - - Ituneferu.

The interpreter Khakau.

Scribe of the Treasury [Sen]wosret (?).

[⁵ Petty official of the Treasury - - - - -.

Petty official of [the Treasury (?)] - - - - -.

Petty official of the Great House U - - - - -.

Foreman of ten - - - - -.

- - - , domestic of the foremen of - - - - -.

[¹⁰ Domestic of the foremen of - - - - -.

.

.

Ganger (?) Seshen - - - - -.

^a Wb. II, 349, 2.

^b See 115 and Wb. I, 268, 7.

^c Wb. II, 79, 3-4, not *mnt*, Wb. II, 68, 2.

^d For this man see 100, W. face.

Stone carver Khenemsu. The stone worker^a Iy

¹⁵ *Stone carver Iusunb.*

The serving man Senbetify. The Nakht.

The serving man Nakht. The serving man Hori.

The serving man Sopdu - - - - . The serving man Rensonb.

The serving man Min (?). The Renfronkh.

²⁰ *Overseer of troops of the expedition Sonb, conceived of Gohset.*

Overseer of troops Ipu, conceived of - - - - .

Overseer of troops [Se]nebtify (?), conceived of Shaw (?).

Overseer of troops - - - s, conceived of Itu.

Overseer of troops Setyrē, conceived of Iftet.

²⁵ *Overseer of troops - - - -, conceived of I - - - -.*

Overseer of troops Snofru, conceived of Ypet.

Overseer of troops Nen[i] (?).

Overseer of troops Inhathor (?).

Overseer of troops Inpuhotpu.

³⁰ *The stone cutter Pesesh, doing what every leader approves.^b*

South edge. 282 × 35 cm.

Three vertical lines of inscription: ¹ 'An offering-which-the-king-gives (to) Hathor, lady of the turquoise, for the treasurer of the king of Lower Egypt, the sole friend, to whom are reported the desires of the two lands, Overseer of - - - A[me]ny, conceived of Iot - - -, true of voice, [possessing] honour. ² An offering-which-the-king-gives (to) Hathor, lady of the turquoise, for the treasurer of the king of Lower Egypt, the sole friend, over the secrets of the great (?) goddesses, Overseer of - - - - - , [possessing] honour. ³ An offering-which-the-king-gives (to) Hathor, lady of the turquoise, for the god's treasurer, intendant, - - - - -, Nehy, true of voice, possessing honour, conceived of Ameny, true of voice, - - - - - hu, true of voice.' At the bottom are added the words ' - - - Iufnai, conceived of Kayt (?), true of voice'.

106. AMMENEMES III, YEAR 40 (Pl. XXXV)

For bibliography see PORTER-MOSS, VII, 347. E.E.F. copies, controlled except in the case of the east face by good E.E.F. photographs. Collated with the original on 22.4.1935, but unfortunately its position has not been noted. De Buck saw it in 1930 'between 100 and group of stelae in front of cave', which is too long a distance to enable us to fix the position.

Fragment of round-topped stela, 64 cm. broad, with edges 40 cm. wide. The position was not marked on the copies and we have been unable to find among the papers and plans of the expedition any means of fixing it. It is not mentioned in P. R. as having been found in the temple buildings or Old Approach, nevertheless it must have stood in either one or the other.

East face

The remains give only the date and titulary of Ammenemes III: 'Year 40 under the majesty of Horus "Great of might", twin goddesses "[Seizer of the inheritance] of the two lands", king of Upper and Lower Egypt - - - - - [beloved of] Hathor, endowed with life [for ever].'

^a Cf. 85 N. 25, 26, 106, S. edge, and perhaps 112, S. edge, fifth line from bottom; derived from the verb *whi*, *Wb.* I, 346, 15.

West face

This face held an inscription of a type not uncommon at Serâbîṭ, of which perhaps the most perfect example remaining is the rock tablet, 53, of the same man Sebkhîrḥab from Mine B, dedicated in the 44th year of this reign. Another, less complete, parallel is 413. The reconstructions in the translation are based on these and similar inscriptions.

|¹ 'O ye [that live]^a and are upon earth, king's [nobles and friends]^b - - - |² Hathor, lady of the turquoise, shall bless you [according as you shall say a ḥtp-di-nsw prayer for the ka of the] |³ intendant of the Treasury Sebkhîrḥab - - - - - [He says:] |⁴ I succeeded in seizing a good opportunity - - - - - |⁵ the intendant of the Treasury Sebkhîrḥab - - - [Give praise] |⁶ to the king, exalt his might, adore the king, - - - - - |⁷ They (i.e. mountains) [reveal] their hidden things, [the mountains of foreign countries] bring their tribute - - - - - .'

North and south edges

The edges contain a list of officials who took part in the expedition. The list began on the north edge and continued on the south.

|¹ '[List] of the company who came to this mining district.

The - - - - - Iat.

The - - - - - of the store-house^c Senbi.

[Assistant treasurer] of the overseer of treasure Kemni.

|⁵ Overseer of treasure Gebu.

[Petty official of] the wrš^d Iutju.

[Petty official of] the wrš Mery.

- - - - - Iy (?).

- - - - - Sētekh (?).

(Uncertain number of lines lost here)

|¹ The stone carver Neferḥor.

The stone carver |² Ib.

Two stone workers.

Three šnyw.^e

|³ Two hundred stone cutters.

Three quarrymen.

|⁴ Three coppersmiths.

Twenty ferryman.

|⁵ Fifteen serving men.

Thirty peasants.

|⁶ Seventy-five men of the imnw.^f

|⁷ - - - - - .

^a Photograph shows [𓆎𓅓].

^b [Špsw smrw] niswt as in 413.

^c The damaged sign is 𓆎.

^d [Iry r] n wrš(w). For this title see Wb. I, 336, 6 adding to its examples: Pap. Boulaq XVIII (cf. ZÄS 57, 53); Cairo stela 20030, 20144, 20286, 20628, 20716.

^e Wb. IV, 503, 10, doubts the existence of the word, evidently wrongly.

^f The group 𓆎𓅓 which follows imnw in 114 S., bottom, seems to be a determinative as in T₇-mḥw 114 W., 2. We have no clue as to the nature of this geographical expression. For other examples see Index.

107. AMMENEMES III, YEAR 44 (Pl. XXXIII)

For bibliography see PORTER-MOSS, VII, 347. E.E.F. copy, collated with the original.

Round-topped stela (78 × 26 cm.) of red sandstone, found with the offering table at its foot in an enclosure of rough stones on a ridge south-west of the temple, see Pl. XCI (P. R., pp. 65-66, and figs. 78-80). Both stela and offering table are now in the B.M. (Exhibition nos. 179 and 180; Regist. no. [694] and [695]).

'Year 44. An offering-which-the-king-(gives) (to) Hathor, lady of the turquoise, for the ka of the intendant^a Sebkhirhab, and for the ka of the assistant treasurer of the overseer of treasure Kemn,^b conceived of Kahotep.'

108. AMMENEMES III, YEAR 45 (?) (Pl. XXXIII)

E.E.F. copy, no controls. Collated with the original on 23.4.1935.

Block, 52 × 53 cm.; the copy was marked 'Hats. on E. wall'. It is not referred to in P. R. and we were unable to ascertain its position until it was found again in 1935 in the Shrine of Kings, forming its east wall. See Pl. XCII. The mention of Ptaḥwēr probably dates it to year 45 of Ammenemes III, see 54.

A man is represented standing before a pile of offerings. Above them are the words *'Honour before Ptaḥ-Sokar, for the ka of the god's treasurer, - - - -, chief intendant [of] the Treasury Ptaḥwēr, conceived of Itu'*.

109. AMMENEMES III, YEAR 45 (?) (Pl. XXXIII)

For bibliography see PORTER-MOSS, VII, 359. Traced from a B.M. squeeze. Collated on 24.4.1935 with the original and found then lying in the Old Approach, south of 115.

Fragment of an inscription, 49 × 59 cm. No note of provenance.

'-----, serf of the god's treasurer Ptaḥ[wēr], - - - - servant, pure of fingers, - - - - - [more than all] - - - - - who have existed before, the god's treasurer and intendant Ptaḥwēr, [conceived] of^c (??) In.'

Below was a line of Khoker ornament which, together with the general appearance of the whole, makes it clear that this is part of a wall inscription. We may infer from this and from 108 that Ptaḥwēr undertook building in the Shrine of Kings and perhaps in some other part of the temple, possibly in year 45, the year in which he cut his rock tablet at Mine C. There is unfortunately no reference to this work in P. R.

110. AMMENEMES III (Pl. XXXV A)


E.E.F. copy; no controls. Collated with the original on 14.4.1935.

Round-topped stela, 354 cm. high, 61 cm. broad, and 33 cm. thick, much weathered. It formed the northern wall of the Portico Court (P. R., p. 93, see our Pl. XCII) and is just visible on the left in P. R., fig. 109. There were no copies of the north face and east edge, which were probably completely weathered away. The stela is obviously not in its original position, the faces now facing north and south and the edges east and west.

The mention of the divine chancellor Ptaḥwēr is our authority for dating the stela to this reign, compare 54, 108, and 109.

^a For this man see 53 and 106.

^b This man is also named on 106.

^c In 108 Ptaḥwēr is said to be .

South face

Only the last four lines of an inscription are to some extent legible. In P. R., fig. 109, there appear to be a few signs left in the top right-hand corner, but no copy of these exists and they were illegible in 1935.

'----- they give them to him under his charge,^a of the gift which his father Atum has made to him; they give him all the hidden turquoise of the land, the garment of Geb,^b that which has not been seen since the beginning is brought to him now.'^c

This is clearly part of a royal inscription.

West edge

Copy marked 'west edge base, no more visible.' The collation with the original revealed the existence of twenty-four lines. These contained a list of the expeditionary force:

Ll. 1-4 lost.

|⁵ ----- sonb (?).

----- ennufer (?).

[Petty official] of the Great House Renfsonb.

Petty official of the Great House Rensonb.

|¹⁰ [Petty official] of the Treasury - - - hotep.

[Petty official] of the Treasury Sihathor.

----- y.'

Six lines entirely lost.

'----- 15.

|²⁰ ----- 2.

[Men] of imnw,^d 75.

Asiatics of Hāmī, 20.

Serfs of the god's treasurer Ptaḥwēr, 2.

Asses 500.'

111. AMMENEMES III (Pl. XXXII)

E.E.F. copy; no controls. Block, 18 × 49 cm., provenance not given. Not seen again in 1935.

The scenes evidently represented king Ammenemes III adoring or offering to the god Sētekh, but the two ears of the god are all that remain. The hieroglyphs give the name of the god Sētekh^e and the beginning of the king's titles, 'The good god Nema^crēr'.

112. AMMENEMES III (Pl. XXXVII)

For bibliography see PORTER-MOSS, VII, 355. E.E.F. copies, controlled in the case of the south edge by a B.M. squeeze and by a fair E.E.F. photograph as far as the tenth horizontal line, and in the case of the west face by a poor E.E.F. photograph which, however, gives a few hints. Collated with the original on 8.4.1935.


^a Reading  as the shaded signs seem to imply.

^b Compare 124 for this phrase, and indeed for the whole passage.

^c Lit. 'at the time', like Coptic *nicon*.

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^d See p. 111, note f.

^e The spelling  should be suspect, since it is otherwise known only from a late inscription (Marseille 81), see RÖDER, ZÄS 50, 84.

Round-topped stela which stood at the north-west corner of the Porch in the Sanctuary, see Pl. XCII. It is not mentioned in P. R. though a photograph of its south edge is shown in fig. 117. As it was dedicated by Sinofret, the author of the mine inscription 56, it may safely be attributed to the same reign as this, and the mention of the brother of the prince of Retjenu, Khebbed, points to its belonging to the early part of the reign. Cf. 85, 87, and 92.

East face. 196 × 62 cm.

The upper part is almost completely weathered away, and of the scene at the top there remains only a portion of the figure of Hathor on the right and the king on the left. Below are the remains of six vertical and one horizontal lines of inscription.

¹ 'True acquaintance of the king, his beloved, of his affection, director of all the works of the king of Upper Egypt, guardian of the Double Treasury, frank of countenance concerning what is entrusted to him, ² one whose arrival is waited for in the good place, knowing the place of his foot in the royal palace, who is ushered in^a to the king, foremost among^b his officers to bring him the precious gem ³ - - - - - the foreigners,^c one whom his excellence and acuteness of mind placed over the officers ⁴ - - - - - whom he chose among his courtiers ⁵ - - - - - whose arrival [is waited for] ⁶ - - - - - whose arrival to the [beautiful] place^d - - - - - is waited for - - - - - over [the secrets of Per]-wer, priest in Per-neser, ⁷ the god's treasurer, intendant, governor of Lower Egypt, Sinofret, true of voice, conceived of Sittekh.'

West face. 208 × 63 cm.

Of the scene at the top little remains except vestiges of the figure of the king on the left, apparently receiving some object or emblem from, or presenting it to, Hathor on the right. Over the king we can just distinguish 'Lord of the two lands' and over the goddess 'Hathor, lady - - -.'

Eleven horizontal lines of inscription below gave a list of gifts brought to Sinai for the goddess, and also the names of some members of the expedition. It is a pity that this face is so badly weathered, as there are very few stelae which have a similar content:

¹ 'Gifts of the god's treasurer, intendant, [governor of] Lower Egypt, ² [Si]nofret for^e the welfare of [Nemarrê]; living for ever. ³ List thereof:^f fine linen . . . 6, - - - garments 1, ⁴ aprons of - - - - 5, - - - - - 3, sistrum^g 1, ⁵ menat-necklaces - - - - -, hpw-vase^h with ⁶ lapis lazuli - - - -, pot of alabaster filled with royal ornamentⁱ ⁷ - - - - - ⁸ - - - - -, goats 15, ⁹ - - - - -, the interpreter Iunefer, ¹⁰ - - - -, the scorpion charmer,^j Senwosret, his tpnn^k of . . . ¹¹ - - - - - es 200, asses 200, his attendant - - - - -.'

For a parallel compare 91 E. face.

Beneath is a scene showing a man seated on a donkey which is being led by one boy and driven by another. The seated figure is, as the inscription above him tells us, 'The brother of the prince of Retjenu Khebbedem', and the driver, who carries a large vase in his left hand, is 'His attendant, Kēkbi'. For a close parallel see 115 West face, and 405 SE. face.

^a Wb. II, 171, 18.

^b GARDINER, *Gr.*, § 174, 2.

^c Read smtyw? or s Mntyw?

^d i.e. the Palace, probably.

^e For hr-tp in this meaning see Wb. v, 272, 5, and GARDINER, *Gr.*, § 178, with examples.

^f 𓏏 for iry (GARDINER, *Gr.*, § 113, 2); for rht try see Wb.

II, 448, 18 and 22.

^g After the 𓏏 we expect the determinative, if any, and the

number of these objects brought. The original and photograph suggest 𓏏 'wooden sistra, 1'. Sistra partly in wood are known from the tomb of Tutankhamūn (CARTER, *The Tomb of Tut-ankh-amen*, I, pl. XXIII, B).

^h We know only hpwt, Wb. III, 366, 11; SETHE, *Dramatische Texte*, p. 183.

ⁱ Hkr-nsw.

^j For this title see commentary on 23.

^k Rpm-f or tpnn-f? Unknown.

North edge. 109 × 39 cm.

Apparently only half of this (the upper half?^a) was inscribed. It bears a *hṭp-dī-nsw* prayer for Sinofret:

'An offering-which-the-king-gives (to) Hathor, lady of the turquoise, for the god's treasurer, intendant, governor of Lower Egypt, Sinofret.' In this same register is the figure of a man holding out a smoking censer, accompanied by the inscription 'The giving of incense'. In this second register is the figure of 'His father Khentwoser, true of voice'.^b In the third line are figures of two women, each of whom is smelling a lotus. These are 'His mother Sittekh' and 'His sister Ikatib'.

South edge. 208 × 40 cm.

The upper register contains a figure of Sinofret offering a conical object in his left hand, and round this (A) his titles and name, and (B) a *hṭp-dī-nsw* prayer to Hathor.

A. 'True acquaintance of the king, his beloved, over the secrets of Per-wēr, priest in Per-neser, the god's treasurer Sinofret, true of voice, honoured before the lord - - - .' B. 'An offering-which-the-king gives (to) Hathor, lady of the turquoise, for the god's treasurer, intendant, governor of Lower Egypt, Sinofret, true of voice.'

Below is a list of persons taking part in the expedition.

[¹ 'The interpreter Iyn, son of - - - - Hathor.

Brother of the prince of Retjenu, Khebbedem.^c

Petty official Akhtoy.

Petty official Ptahṛō.

[⁵ Petty official Sedjama (?).

Petty official Khebaa.

Overseer of troops Iuki.^d

Iyib. The foreman Isi - - - - .

The foreman Amenī. Khnemu - - - - .

[¹⁰ The foreman Kheperkerēr. The ganger Inpus[onb?].

The foreman Iti. Domestic of the rēis Ikhi.

Domestic of the rēis Senebtifi. I-īpi.

The serving-man Hori. The serving-man - - - - - wēr (?).

The domestic, Asiatic Sinefer. The cook Ipepi.

[¹⁵ The scribe - - - Hērsheshotep. Ptahsonb.

The stone carver Ankhtifi.^e The stone carver Sena'aib.



The - - - - - Sonb. The - - - - - Hotep. The - - - - - Kemen.












































The stone worker (?)^f Mery. The stone hewer (?) Py.

The stone cutter (?) Nebib. The stone cutter Semekh. The stone cutter Teti.

[²⁰ The stone cutter Ipep. The stone cutter Uhau.

^a Through an oversight this point was not settled on collating the original in 1935.

^b The sign in the line below must be  and in the two strokes above it we must see .

^c Both here and on the west face the name seems to be written   . In 85 we have                                        

and 'Rṣr'. Below this again is the remnant of a scene, in which the king was represented with the words '- - - [protection] behind him', and finally, five vertical lines of inscription in retrograde lines: 'True [acquaintance of the king, his beloved], filling the heart of the king in treading [the foreign countries]^a - - - - - whom he [chose] from among [his courtiers]^b to bring the precious^c stones - - - experienced^d Renfanūp (?)'.^e

West face. 200 × 64 cm.

'[The god's treasurer], the intendant, governor of Lower Egypt,^f Ankhreni, true of voice. He says: O you who live and who are upon earth, officials of the king, courtiers of the palace who may come to this country. Give praise in exalting the might of the king; extol (the king);^g behold what has happened for him. The hills lead to what is in them - - - - -.'

The rest has been erased and replaced by a later scene and inscription. We see a figure of 'Ptah south of [his] wall', and above him the words '- - - - - sed-festivals like [Rṣr] (?)'. Below Ptah another horizontal line again mentioning 'sed-festival'.

Right at the bottom, four lines of the original inscription remained containing the titles and names of some of the members of the expedition:

'Overseer of troops Iuk(i).^h Rêis I. . . .

Rêis Kemen. Foreman Iu.

Commander Rêis

Commander Sihathor. Rêis Senenu.'

South edge. 185 × 35 cm.

'The staff of the (goddess) Selket Senebni.

What is provided for the second day, - - - for the sixth day.ⁱ Day 1, . . .

Large and small cattle, 23. wꜣd- birds 2. Pigeons 30.

Scribe of the granary Raemhēt.

Petty official of the Great House, Senwosret.

Petty official - - - y.

Petty official Anpuhotep.

Petty official of the Treasury - - - - .

The staff of the (goddess) Selket Senebn(i).

Controller Mer[i]rēcnūfer.

Domestic of the rêis - - - - .

Domestic of the rêis - - - - .

Domestic Ankhren.

- - - - - Senwosret.

List of the expedition:

Petty officials, 4. Scribe, controller, staff of Selket.

^a See 88 for this restoration.

^b Read *stp-n-f hnt smrwf*(?) or similar.

^c The curious sign must be a deformation of the hieratic form of *ḥ*.

^d *ḥ*, §57.

^e For the reading of *ḥ* as 'Inpw see 87 W. face *ḥ* *ḥ* *ḥ* *ḥ* *ḥ*. For this same man see 115 W. face.

^f Read *ḥ* *ḥ* *ḥ* and take *ḥ* as determinative.

^g Insert *ḥ*. Cf. 53 for the whole passage.

^h Occurs also in 56 and 112 S. edge.

ⁱ The photograph suggests *ḥ* *ḥ* *ḥ*, i.e. *snt* 'the sixth day of the lunar month', Wb. IV, 153, 4; *ibid* is the festival of the second day, Wb. I, 65, 10.

Domestics of the r̄eis, 2. Domestics of stone workers,^a 2.

Stone cutters, 80. Serving-men 10, 10.

Quarrymen, 8. Stone carvers, 2.

Coppersmiths, 2. Carpenters, 2.

Stone worker.

.^b 2, peasants, 20.

'Imnw,^c 50 men.

from Retjenu, 10 Asiatics.

Total 209.

Donkeys 284.'

For a similar inscription cf. 91 W. face.

North edge. Uninscribed.

115. AMMENEMES III (?), YEAR 18 (Pl. XXXIX)

For bibliography see PORTER-MOSS, VII, 348. E.E.F. copy; west face collated with B.M. squeeze and *Survey* photograph as regards the upper portions, and with a good E.E.F. photograph for the rest; north and south edges controlled and added to from a fair E.E.F. photograph; east face, no controls. Collated with the original on 5.4.1935.

The position of this round-topped stela as shown on Pl. XCII in the Old Approach is established beyond doubt by Petrie's original rough plans. In the lunette of the west face the name and date, 'I.S. Crompton, 1825', had been chiselled, but was found broken away in 1935.

East face. Breadth 57 cm.

This face is badly weathered and nothing remains except the date, 'Year 18', in the lunette, the vestiges of the beginning of the royal titulary monumentally arranged, and the feet of two figures, doubtless those of the king and Hathor, at the bottom.

West face. 306 × 58 cm.

|¹ 'The god's treasurer, the intendant, |² governor of Lower Egypt, Renfanūp, |³ possessing honour, conceived of Sittjehenu, true of voice. |⁴ Name-list of the company |⁵ who were in this mining district: ('Ptahsnofru', added in a rough graffito at the end of the line.)

|⁶ The scribe Ameny-heteru, of the northern district.^d



|⁷ His serving-man Senwosret. The attendant^e Senwosret (this latter in rough graffito).

|⁸ The petty official of the Great House Heba.

|⁹ The petty official of the Great (?)^f House Kemsu.

|¹⁰ Petty official of the Treasury^g Iufnai.

|¹¹ Petty official of the Treasury Habsu.



^a The sign  which qualifies these  seems to determine wh(?) 'stone worker' farther on in the inscription.




^b Is this the late word quoted by Wb. V, 116, 11?

^c See note f on 106.

^d Added in smaller characters, possibly as part of the title (sš wrt mht).

^e šmsw.

^f Probably  has been omitted. An *tryt* named  occurs in 85, see note a thereon. Doubtless this is the same man.

^g Despite the absence of the determinative  it is clear that the lost sign was  and not .

|¹² Domestic [of the rêis]^a - - - - . Domestic of the rêis 'Ankhren.

|¹³ - - - - - senb.'

The following lines are completely weathered away, but a scene at the bottom has survived. It shows a man seated on a donkey which is being led by another man and driven by a boy. Over the scene are the words '[Re]tjenu, 6'. The remaining signs doubtless give the names of one or more of these three figures. For a parallel to this scene see 112 W. face; 405 SE. face.

South and north edges. Breadth 42 cm.

The six vertical lines which these contain form a single inscription beginning on the south edge, where it reads from right to left, and passing on to the north edge, where it reads in retrograde lines from left to right:

|¹ 'The god's treasurer, the intendant, governor of Lower Egypt, Ren[anûp], - - - - -, beloved of Thoth, |² beloved of Sopdu, <lord> of the foreign lands, [beloved of] Hathor, lady of the turquoise, - - - -, exalting the king when he sees |³ the officials of the palace, - - - - -, [doing] that which the gods of Upper and Lower Egypt approve^b

|⁴ in the affairs of every day; the intendant, governor of Lower Egypt, Renfanûp, possessing honour - - - -, when he arrived (home) |⁵ in safety with his expedition; exalting the king when [he] saw, - - - - - [bread], beer, water, |⁶ oxen and fowl, r3-geese, trp-geese, sr-geese, mnt-geese, and all good and pure things, - - - - [a good burial] of honour.'

116+164. AMMENEMES III (Pls. XXXVI and LIV)

For bibliography see PORTER-MOSS, VII, 359. E.E.F. copies; controlled by a photograph kindly supplied by the authorities of the Brussels Museum. With its help a new tracing has been made and is published in the accompanying fig. 8 to replace the tracings of the two fragments in Part I.

Two fragments of a stela which join and are now in Brussels, E. 5266. No note of provenance on the copy. No reference in P. R.

At the top is a horizontal line giving the titulary of Ammenemes III. '[The good god,] lord of the two lands, lord of might, king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Nema^crêr, living for ever, beloved of Hathor.'

Below, the king is seen seated on the left, wearing the two feathers at the back of his cap and carrying the flail. Hathor holds out to his nose in her right hand the emblems of life and dominion. In front of her are the words, 'Said by Hathor: I am giving thee life, perpetuity and health to thy nose for eternity'.^c

The goddess holds in her left hand a round object whose nature is not obvious, probably a *menat*-necklace. Behind her is the god's treasurer Sebekhotep, holding out in his right hand a conical loaf of bread. In front of him we read, 'Said by the god's treasurer^d Sebekhotep: I bring to thee'. Behind this figure again is another holding a papyrus roll in his left hand, in front of whom is, 'Said by the scribe this foreign country'.

Below the scene are remains of six horizontal lines of inscription '¹ - - - - - the majesty^e of this god [sent]^f the careful^g god's treasurer Sebekhotep to bring^h the precious stone for [his] majesty |² - - -

^a Part of □ is visible in the photograph and, from the position of the sign 𓂏, is probable beneath.

^b Parts of 𓂏 𓂏 are visible in the photograph.

^c Read probably 𓂏 𓂏 𓂏 𓂏 𓂏 𓂏 𓂏 𓂏 𓂏 𓂏.

^d Read clearly 𓂏 𓂏.

^e 𓂏 still visible according to Speleers.

^f Read 𓂏 𓂏 𓂏 𓂏.

^g *kf* *ib* is a frequent epithet of the 𓂏. Cf. note b on 30.

^h Read 𓂏 𓂏 𓂏 𓂏.

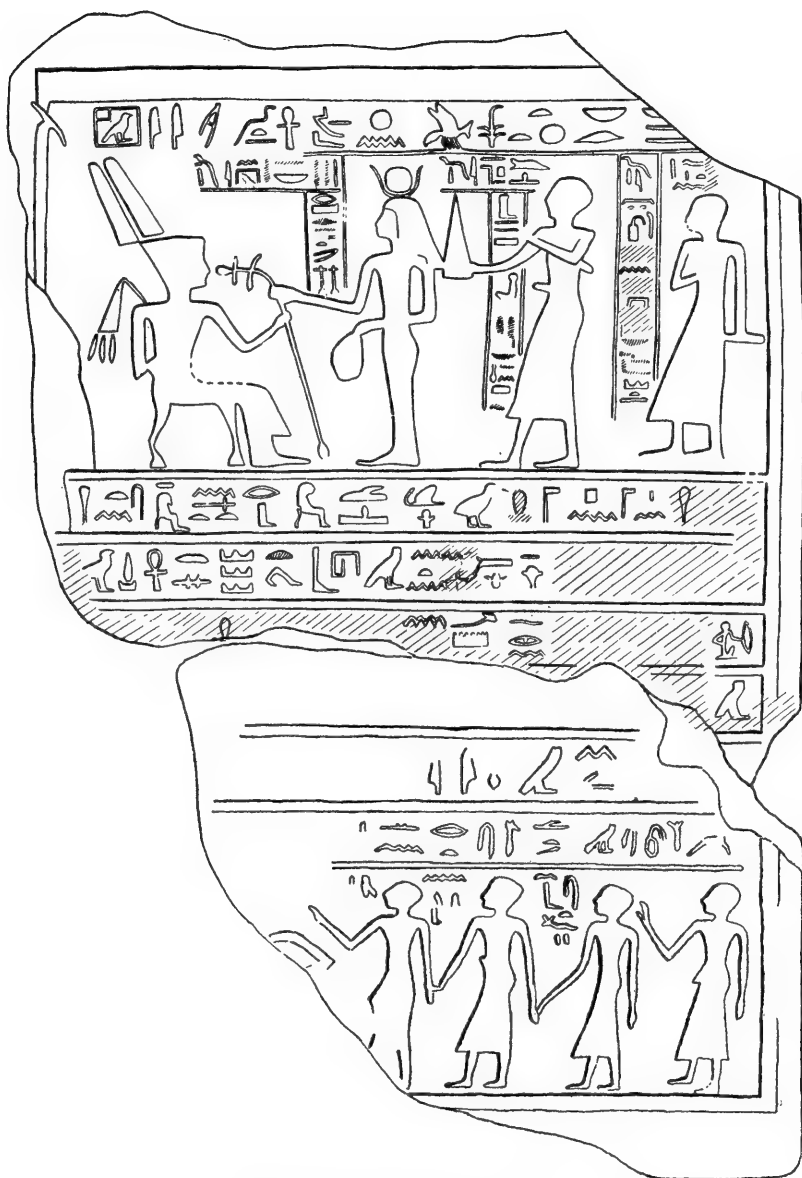


FIG. 8. Stela no. 116+164 (scale $\frac{1}{2}$).

----- *filling the heart of the king^a in treading the foreign lands to make live generations^b* |³ -----
He made (as) [his] monument - - - |⁴ - - - |⁵ - - - |⁶ *scribe of the called-up labourers^c Senwosret^d* (short line, end).

Figures of four men facing left are discernible at the bottom of the stela. The names of the first three are written in front of their faces, but only the name of the third, *Senebtifi*, is still legible.

117. AMMENEMES III (Pl. XL)

E.E.F. copies; no controls.

Inscriptions from three sides of a stela the position of which we have been unable to discover. The copies are marked 'Red stela, formerly door jamb'. The stela was obviously badly weathered and the copies very inaccurate. Only three fragments of the east face were found in the Sanctuary (Q) and collated on 5.4.1935 without appreciable improvement upon the E.E.F. copy.

West face. 43 × 36 cm.

The copy is marked (doubtfully) 'West face'. This side clearly held the titulary of Ammenemes III and the titles and name of the dedicator of the stela: '----- [*the Horus "Great" of might*], *twin goddesses "Seizer of the inheritance of the two lands"*, ----- [*his beloved*], *of his affection, firm of sandal³* ----- .'

East face. 89 × 35 cm.

There was no marking on the copy, but it is clear from the breadth that this is a face and not an edge. It contains a list of officials:

- |¹ *'Intendant of the Treasury* -----
Petty official of the Treasury Ipepi, [conceived of] -----
Domestic of the rês Ameney the younger [conceived of]
Overseer^e of boatmen Ser.
|⁵ *Overseer^e of boatmen Iuu.*
The sealer (??), Ameney the younger.
The physician and magicianⁱ 'Akm.
Overseer of troops Ptahsnofru.

List of the expeditionary force which came to |¹⁰ *this mining country: stone cutters 200,,*
|¹¹ *serving-men 5,^g*

South edge. 113 × 30 cm.

Copy marked 'South edge'. The inscription evidently detailed the virtues of a god's treasurer whose name is lost. Nothing is to be gathered except the epithet '*excellent of counsel*' in ll. 5-6, '*in order to bring precious things*'^h in l. 7, and the words '*he says*' (l. 8) and '*everything*' (l. 9).




^a  suggested by 88 and 114 agrees with the traces visible on the photograph.



^b     .

^c *Smdt.*

^d See 71, 118, and 141.

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^e Probably, however, we should read ;  would not be determined by .

^f Read  .

^g *Wbz.*

^h Read   .

118. AMMENEMES IV, YEAR 4 (Pl. XXXVI)

For bibliography see PORTER-MOSS, VII, 347. E.E.F. copy, controlled by E.E.F. photograph.

Round-topped stela the position of which, at point VII in Pl. XCI, is fixed by WEILL, *P.S.*, p. 175. This is confirmed by a note in Petrie's hand in Weill's notebook (1905), 'Hill west of temple, recently broken'. Its present whereabouts are unknown.

¹ 'Year 4 under the majesty of ² the king of Upper and Lower Egypt Markherurē, living eternally. An offering-which-the-king-gives (to) ³ Hathor, lady of the turquoise, for the ka of the count Sisopd, ⁴ true of voice, possessing honour, truly beloved of his lord, (of) his affection, firm of sandal, ⁵ quiet of step, doing that which his lord approves, treading the foreign countries for the lord of the two lands. ⁶ Treasurer of the attendant of the 'aryt-chamber Kemau, true of voice, possessing honour. ⁷ O you who live and are upon earth, who shall pass ⁸ by this stela, if you wish that your gods ⁹ may praise you, and that you may reach ¹⁰ Egypt^a in peace, may you say ¹¹ "Thousands of bread and beer, oxen-flesh and fowl, cloth and alabaster" for the ka of the treasurer [of] ¹² the attendant of the 'aryt-chamber Kemau, ¹³ conceived [of] (?) Iret (?), true of voice.'

In the lower half of the stela and to the left of the appeal to the living stood the figure of the dedicator, while at the bottom were the figures of nine persons who were apparently all named, although the names have now entirely disappeared with the exception of portions of the first two, *Mehenankhethetept* (?) and *Renf* - - - .




119. AMMENEMES IV, YEAR 6 (Pl. XLII)

For bibliography see PORTER-MOSS, VII, 349. E.E.F. copy, controlled by E.E.F. photograph. Collated with the original on 20.4.1935.

Stela with corniced top found in the Shrine of the Kings. See P. R., p. 98 and fig. 116. Dimensions 87 × 50 cm.

In the centre stands a Sētekh-like deity in a boat, here named  'Anty, lord of the east'.

The top line of inscription runs as follows: 'Year 6 under the majesty of the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Markherurē, son of Rē, Amenemhēt.' The vertical column on the right is of interest as completing the titulary of Ammenemes IV, hitherto not fully known:

'Horus,  "Growth of growths", Horus of gold,  "Most powerful of the gods", two goddesses,  "Making festive the two lands", living for ever, beloved of Anty.'

The left vertical column gives the name and rank of the dedicator: 'Made under the direction of the god's treasurer, chief intendant of the Treasury, Djaf-Horemsu,^d true of voice, conceived of Renssonb,^e true of voice, possessing honour.'


120. AMMENEMES IV, YEAR 6 (Pl. XLIII)

For bibliography see PORTER-MOSS, VII, 356.

Round-topped stela from the Portico Court (Pl. XCII). This is not the stela of this king mentioned by P. R., p. 92, which is 122, nor is it quite certain that it is one of those there stated to be of the reign of Tuthmosis III. Collated with the original and the copy completed on 23.4.1935, when it was found lying on the ground.

^a *Sih* *ti*, clearly with the same meaning as the more usual *ph* (*pr*), for which see p. 69, note h.

^b The Gold Horus name is now known also from the temple at Medinet Mādī, see DONADONI, *Orientalia*, 16, p. 523.

^c *Sic*, perhaps for , but there is an old transitive verb *hb*, see *Wb.* III, 61, 15.

^d Read perhaps *Hr-m-s'f*.

^e The second *n* is omitted.

East face. Breadth 66 cm.

In the lunette is the dating, 'Year 6', over the winged disk with uraei. Below this was a double scene in which the king stood before Ptah on the left and Hathor on the right. Of the inscriptions accompanying the scene little remains, and it is not easy to determine their order and arrangement. On the left we have '---, *beloved of Ptah, south of his wall, who gives kas*',^a clearly referring to the king, and on the right '---- [beloved of] Hathor, [lady of] the turquoise, guest in Djadja'.^b Above the figure of Ptah we read '---- Sokar, [lord of] Ankhtau'. Finally, in front of the right-hand figure of the king, is a cartouche which the copy gives in dotted line as that of Menkheperre, i.e. Tuthmosis III, and concerning which see below.

Below this scene were at least nine, and probably several more, horizontal lines of inscription of which nothing tangible remains except the title 'Royal acquaintance' at the beginning, and in the last line 'God's [treasurer], great intendant of the Treasury Dja[f]-Hor[emso]'.^c

At the bottom is a scene in which 'The priest of Hathor, petty official of the Treasury Sopdu ---, conceived of Hedjert' is seated before a large collection of funerary offerings.


West face. Blank; it therefore leaned against a wall or another stela.

North edge. Breadth 40 cm.


The top and bottom alone remain. The top shows figures of Hathor on the right and Khentekhtay on the left. The latter is represented as a falcon-headed deity wearing on his head the disk and uraeus and two feathers; he also has the bull's tail. In his right hand is the sign of life and in his left the *uas*-sceptre. Above the deities are the words '[Beloved of] Khentekhtay, lord of Kemui, and of Hathor, lady of the turquoise'. Of an inscription in horizontal lines below the scene nothing remains save the cartouche of Markherur and parts of two lines towards the bottom: '---, the stone cutter Renfsonb,, stone cutters 200'. Below the last line is a woman sitting in front of an offering table covered with food. She is 'Treasurer, open of heart, Ibneith, true of voice, possessing honour'. The title is unique for a woman. Outside the frame of the inscriptions and the scene just mentioned there is one more line: 'Ferrymen 20, serving-men 15, peasants 30, Retjenu 20, donkeys ---'.


South edge. Breadth 40 cm.

The scene at the top shows 'beloved of Kherty, lord of Sab'^d and 'Hathor, lady of the turquoise'. Hathor is dressed as usual in a tight-fitting gown reaching almost to the ankles. The loose robe shown in the copy in dotted line is not supported by the photograph. Kherty is depicted as a ram-headed (or Sētek-headed) god clad in tunic and short skirt. His head-dress consists of the ram's horns, the uraeus, and two tall feathers curved out at the top. He wears the bull's tail. In his right hand is the sign of life; his left hand is stretched out towards the right hand of Hathor who holds the *uas*-sceptre with the sign of life at the top, but what the god held is now lost; it was probably a sceptre of some kind.

^a Read probably , 'kas' or 'nourishment', see 125 (a)-(c) left. Ptah gives them as Creator, see Berlin hymn to Ptah, 28 (= ZAS 64, 21).

^b Country unknown elsewhere if the reading is correct. This part of the stela was found missing in 1935 and could not be collated; for a possible emendation see 317, note a.

^c The lower end of  was clear on the original. *Mry* 'beloved' must refer to the king represented on east face.

^d GAUTHIER, *Dict. géogr.* v, 4, quotes an example of  from a late stela from Dendara which, however, gives no clue as to its position. Kherty was the god of the town of Letopolis in the west of the Delta.

Below are the remains of seven horizontal lines of inscription. ¹ *Hereditary prince and count, treasurer of the king of Lower Egypt*, ² *sole friend, over the secrets of the twin goddesses*, ³ *foster-child (?) of the king of Upper Egypt, when a child*, ^a *his praised one* ⁴ *when over the secrets*; ^b *appointed by him to be* - - - - - *promoted* ⁶ - - - - - ⁷ *he who is over the secrets of the sanctuary (?)* - - - - - . The following lines are lost and there only remains at the beginning of the last line 'for the ka of', and at the bottom of the stela the figure of a man sitting before a table of offerings.

What is the date of the scenes and inscriptions on the east face? The main inscription and the scene at the bottom of the east face may, from the evidence of their style, be assigned at once to the same date as the inscriptions on the edges of the stela, namely, the reign of Ammenemes IV. This is confirmed by the occurrence of the god's treasurer Djaf, the dedicator of at least four other monuments of this reign (119, 121, 122, and 123). The content of the lunette is also contemporary. If it be objected that the winged disk is rare in Middle Kingdom monuments in Sinai, though common in later times, the answer is that though in the Middle Kingdom generally it is rare, it is precisely under Ammenemes IV that it becomes usual. There is only one certain earlier example, 102^c (Ammenemes III), but there are three of the reign of Ammenemes IV in addition to that under discussion (122, 126, and 130). Moreover, in the later examples the date is never placed over the disk as it is in this case, to which a complete parallel from the same reign is 122.

So much for the date in the lunette. As for the scene below it there are difficulties. The E.E.F. copy shows, though very dubiously, a cartouche of Tuthmosis III, Menkheperre. Apart from this there is nothing in what remains of this scene which is discordant with the rest of the Middle Kingdom work on the stela. 'Ptah south of his wall' does occur on Middle Kingdom monuments in Sinai (92, 124, and 126), double scenes of this type are not rare (compare 126, Hathor and Ptah), and the forms of the hieroglyphs are consonant with a XIIth-Dynasty date. We have, therefore, two alternatives, either to suppose the cartouche to be that of Ammenemes IV, Ma'kherurē, incorrectly copied, or to suppose that Tuthmosis III left the scene unaltered, merely erasing the names of his forerunner Ammenemes IV and substituting his own. The question certainly could not be settled without an examination of the stela itself and even this, in view of the condition of the stone, was indecisive. Any trace of the cartouche had disappeared by 1935.

121. AMMENEMES IV, YEAR 8 (Pl. XLVIII)

E.E.F. copy; no controls. Round-topped stela, the left-hand portion damaged. 72 × 37 cm. No note of provenance. Now in Cairo Museum, J.E. 38547.

At the bottom are two male figures seated on either side of a table of offerings. The inscription runs: ¹ *Year 8 under the majesty of the king of Upper and Lower Egypt Ma'kherurē, living for ever* - - - - . ² *An offering-which-the-king-gives (to) Ptah-Sokar and (to) Hathor, lady of the turquoise, that they may give offerings* - - - - . ³ *for the ka of the chief intendant of the Treasury Djaf* - - - - . ⁴ *beloved of his lord, of his affection, filling the heart of the king* - - - . ⁵ - - - - . ⁶ - - - - *filling their hearts* - - - - . - - . ⁷ *of Asia, the interpreter (?) Mentuhotep, beloved* - - - - - . ⁸ *he who will say* "An offering-which-the-king-gives, thousands of bread and beer, oxen-flesh and fowl and every good thing" for the ka of the physician and magician - - - - . ⁹ *An offering-which-the-king-gives (to) Hathor, lady of the turquoise, (and to)*

^a Read  ?

boy king.

^b *Hry sst*, or 'when a boy (*inpw*)' which would then refer to the king since *inpw* is so far attested only as a word for a

^c Possibly also 132.

Sopdu, lord of foreign lands, for the ka of the magician - - -, ¹⁰(to) the eye of Rē, lady of malachite, and Neit, lady of green stone,^b that they may give offerings [and all good] things [on] ¹¹their altars out of what is offered to them ¹²He who will offer to Rē, will offer to me,^c as (to) a god, as (to) a living one, who does not perish.^d*

122. AMMENEMES IV, YEAR 9 (Pl. XLV)

For bibliography see PORTER-MOSS, VII, 356. E.E.F. copies. The only controls were a very poor B.M. squeeze for the upper fragment of the east face (the Lottinograph is worthless), and a good E.E.F. photograph for the bottom fragment. Collated with the original on 25.4.1935, the central fragment and the left bottom part of the top fragment of the east face being found missing.


The position of the stela is fixed (Pl. XCII). It is one of those which formed the east wall of the Sanctuary. See P. R., p. 92 and fig. 125, where the portion still standing is seen from the west, in very deep shade, in the centre. The occurrence of the name of the God's treasurer Djaf and the evidence of subject and style make it certain that the stela is to be attributed to the reign of Ammenemes IV.


East face. Breadth 57 cm.

Three fragments were copied of which two are obviously the top and bottom respectively, while the exact relation in position of the central fragment to these two cannot be fixed.

In the lunette is the damaged dating, 'Year 9,* *third month of winter, day 26*', under which is the winged disk with uraei. The scene below is of considerable interest. In the right half a figure whom the inscription above shows to be '*The good god, lord of the two lands, lord of initiative, king of Upper and Lower Egypt Snofru, endowed with life*' offers two *nu*-vases to Sopdu. The god wears the head-dress of feathers and carries the sign of life in the left hand and the sign of prosperity, the *uas*-sceptre, in the right. Above and in front we read, '*Said by Sopdu, lord of the east: I am giving thee life, stability and dominion like Rē*'. For this combination of Snofru and Sopdu we may compare 125 (c). In the left half of our scene another figure offers a large vase to Khentekhtay, a falcon-headed god wearing the disk and twin feathers as in 120 N. edge. In front of the god we read in retrograde lines, '*Said by Khentekhtay, lord of Kemuy; very many sed-festivals - - -*'. Of the inscription above the offerer's head only the beginnings of $\frac{1}{2}\frac{3}{4}$ (?) remain. We may safely conjecture that Ammenemes IV or Snofru is represented.

Below are remains of a long inscription in horizontal lines, containing *htp-di-nsw* prayers for various people. The copy is of little value except for the last five lines which have been controlled and corrected by the photograph and verified on the original in 1935; at the same time the first of these five lines is badly worn and the copy may be quite wrong. '*An offering-which-the-king-gives* ----- *Osiris in----- gods and goddesses ----- Dja[f] ----- Sek,^f repeating life, ----- . An offering-which-the-king-gives ----- the scribe Iusenb, true of voice, possessing honour. ----- , true of voice, repeating life. ----- his majesty ----- . An offering-which-the-king-gives*

* Read  *Ismt*, for which see LUCAS, *Anc. Egn. Mat.*, p. 458; GARDINER, *JEA* 5, 222; NEWBERRY, *Griffith Studies*, p. 320.

^b  *Wb.* 1, 267, 9. It is also malachite, according to NEWBERRY, *Griffith Studies*, p. 320, n. 4, but the similarly spelt mineral *Wb.* 1, 267, 3, is thought to be felspar.

^c The grammatical construction is discussed by CLÈRE.

Mélanges Maspero, I, 785 (19 ter), 787 (21 bis).

^d $N sk(\cdot f)$.

* See the date of the west face.

¹ Judging by the following epithet 'repeating life' Sek is a proper name, possibly complete; compare a similar name RANKE, p. 321, 7. For words *sk* written with ★ see *Wb.* IV, 311, 7 and 8.

(to) Geb and Ptah-Sokar-Osiris, lord of 'Ankhtai, and (to) Khentekhtay, lord of Kemuy, and (to) Hathor, lady of the turquoise, that they may give thousands of bread and beer, oxen-flesh and fowl, upon their altars for the ka of the god's treasurer, chief intendant of the treasury, Djaf, conceived of Renssonb, true of voice.'

West face

The copy gives us a mere fragment of the lunette with the date, 'Year 9'. In fact it is practically certain that this fragment does not form part of 122. In 1935 only as much as seen on the accompanying fig. 9 was found of this fragment, while the west face of the top of 122 showed in the

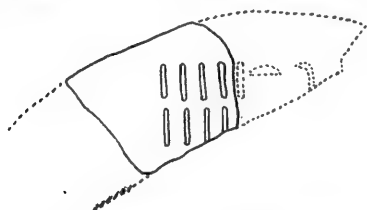





FIG. 9. Loose fragment of the supposed west face of no. 122.



FIG. 10. True west face of the top of no. 122.

lunette what must probably be interpreted as - - -    (see fig. 10). In addition to this the fragment of fig. 9 would not fit the break of the top of 122.

Portions of the last seven lines of the west face are preserved; they contain the names of the staff of the expedition: '1 - - - sonb, 2 - - - nufer, 3 - - - , the chief physician Ibu, 4 - - - Senwosret, Renssonb, attendant of the chief treasurer Nefermaret (?), 5 - - - , the petty official Ib - - - , embalmer^a of Anubis Ptahnufers (son) Gebwēr, 6 - - - [s]onb, - - - pen, Djafsonb, Renssonb, 7 stone [carver] - - - , - - - b, - - - , - - - , Fen, - - - . Below, outside the frame of the inscription: ' 21 (men), coppersmiths 16, (blank^b) 5, (blank^b) 30.'

Table of offerings. 48 × 71 cm.


The copy gives no note of where this was found. In P. R., p. 92, four of the Middle Kingdom stelae are stated to have had flat slabs in front of them 'outlined in the plan', but a reference to the plan in question shows that this is not one of the four. It would therefore seem that the table when found was no longer in position at the foot of the stela. It was not found again in 1935.

The copy is very poor. The translation, in so far as one is possible, runs as follows: 'An offering-which-the-king-gives to Geb (?), offerings of bread and beer, oxen-flesh and fowl, - - - - at the opening of the year, at the feast of Thoth, on the first day of the year,^c at the feast of Wag, of the placing of the furnace, at the feast of Sokar,^d at the great feast, at the feast of heat, offerings (?) - - - - - , conceived of Renssonb,^e true of voice.'















'An offering-which-the-king-gives (to) Khentekhtay, lord of Kemuy, that he may give offerings of bread and beer, oxen-flesh and fowl, [cloth and alabaster], incense and ointment and all good things [for the ka of] the god's treasurer, great intendant of the Treasury, Djafy, conceived of Renssonb,^e true of voice.'

^a Read  ?

^b The signs were originally only painted, not carved.

^c Read undoubtedly .

^d Emend  .

^e Written              

South edge. Thickness 35 cm.

Of this edge only a small fragment remains, the copy being marked 'top'. It contains a few signs from a *hṭp-di-nsw* prayer to Ptah and '[Hathor], lady of the turquoise'. Below these three lines is seen an offering scene, after which the stela is broken off.

123. AMMENEMES IV (Pl. XLVI)

For bibliography see PORTER-MOSS, VII, 349. E.E.F. copy, compared with a hand copy by R. Weill which is occasionally of some little help.

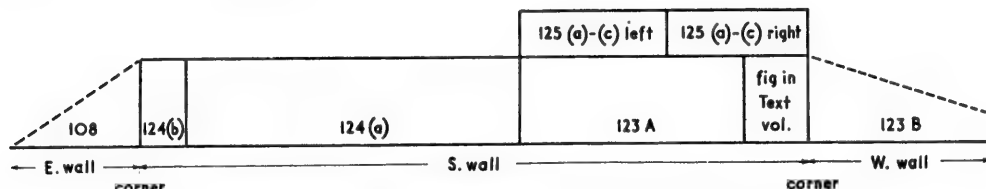


FIG. 11. Distribution of the inscriptions and scenes on the walls of the Shrine of Kings.

This inscription together with the scenes and inscriptions of **124** forms the remains of the sculptured adornment of the Shrine of the Kings. These are described in P. R., pp. 84-85, where the foundation of the shrine is wrongly attributed to Queen Hatshepsut (see also p. 104). The inscription **123 A** occupied the western portion of the south wall of the Shrine, and **123 B** the whole of the west wall. See Pl. XCII and the accompanying sketch of the distribution of the inscriptions and scenes on the walls of the Shrine of Kings (fig. 11). The representation and inscription between the last line (l. 45) and the corner of the wall are much obliterated and therefore do not figure in our Plates; for the sake of completeness, however, it is given here, as far as discernible, in fig. 12. It shows a man before an offering table and three other men beneath. The inscription above is useless, '*Khentekhtay*' and '*Ptah-Sokar*' being the only words which can still be recognized.

Parts of the inscriptions were rapidly collated when the original was unearthed in April 1935, unfortunately too late for a careful study. If the necessary time and some patience were applied the inscription would undoubtedly yield a good deal more of its contents. A few improvements upon the Plate are due to the photographs then taken.

123 A

The whole inscription is in retrograde lines:

[¹ [Words said b]y Hathor, lady of the turquoise: I am giving thee all [good] things --- |² --- I --- thee this hill country (?)^a and its beauties in order to --- |³ --- king of [Upper and] Lower Egypt Markherurê, son of Rê of his body,

^a Emending  *hst tn*.

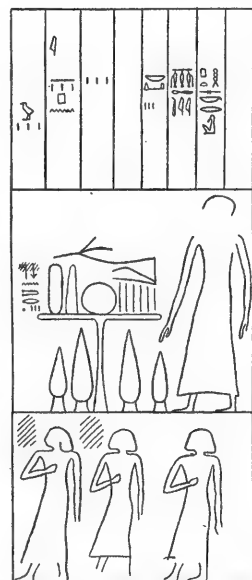


FIG. 12. Part of wall between nos. 123 A and 123 B.

Amenemhēt. [He] caused - - - |⁴ - - - as his monument to Hathor, lady of the turquoise. He made a hall - - - |⁵ - - - built in^a beautiful hard stone^b - - - |⁶ - - - just ones (?) who know - - - |⁷ - - - god's treasurer, [chief] intendant of the Treasury, Djaf Harem[sa]f - - - |⁸ - - - in peace, to come in peace to give a good start^c |⁹ in - - - |¹⁰ - - - their hearts^d in joy - - - |¹¹ - - - of the Treasury - - - He says: |¹² - - - |¹³ - - - |¹⁴ - - - |¹⁵ - - - |¹⁶ - - - |¹⁷ - - - |¹⁸ - - - |¹⁹ - - - |²⁰ - - - Snofru,^e living - - - |²¹ - - - as Amenemhēt lives for me - - - |²² - - - |²³ - - - |²⁴ king of Upper and Lower Egypt Ma[rkhe-ru]rē - - - |²⁵ - - - |²⁶ of (the place) where this official was - - - |²⁷ which was in it. There was not in it^f - - - |²⁸ - - - |²⁹ - - - |³⁰ time made and its . . . drank in them - - - |³¹ in its entirety to the extent of the sky. The beautiful presents given to her - - - |³² - - - god's treasurer, chief intendant of the Treasury^g |³³ - - - more beautiful to look at than anything. I have done this by establishing (?) her monuments - - - in order to make - - - |³⁴ true [king's acquaintance],^h his beloved of his affection, who . . . what is true, acting according to the counsels, king's favourite in the house of gold, [who counts (?)] |³⁵ gold and silver of the two treasuries, excellent in counselsⁱ - - - |³⁶ - - - |³⁷ chief intendant of the Treasury. He says: I have come from my town, I have descended from |³⁸ my nome. I did what men loved and gods approved of.^j Never have I done an evil thing to anyone |³⁹ there. I gave bread to the hungry, [beer to the thirsty],^k clothes to the naked, I [transported] the boatless, |⁴⁰ who had no ship. [An offering-which-the-king-gives (to)] Ptah-Sokar and Hathor, lady of the turquoise, - - - |⁴¹ chief intendant of the Treasury [Djaf], conceived of Ren[ss]on[b], true of voice, possessing honour |⁴² . . . officials - - - |⁴³ - - - |⁴⁴ - - - after - - - |⁴⁵ - - - truth - - - He (?) says: - - '

123 B.

|¹ ' - - the great intendant of the Treasury^l [Djaf, conceived of Rens]^msonb, true of voice. |² - - king of Upper and Lower Egypt [Markher]urē, living for ever, by the judge, chief lector-priest, priest and scribe, the Asiatic Werkheremutⁿ |³ - - - , of these rations^o (of) the temple of Hathor, lady of the turquoise, on behalf of the welfare of the good god, lord of the two lands |⁴ - - two pots of honey, two miny (?) -jugs and two h_w-pots^p of wine (?), two 'prt-pots (namely) two oipe of incense for offerings, two pots of kkt (?) . . . - - |⁵ - - dawn^q of giving a good start in entering^r Medamūd (?): four pots of beer - - - |⁶ - - twelve pots [of beer], twelve cakes hf^s, 12 cakes sst, 12 cakes h₃d, 12 loaves of white bread, 12 'd of fruits, 12 loaves of . . . , [12] loaves of sweets,^s 12 loaves^t of incense, - - - |⁷ - - [10] loaves of incense, [10] cakes hf^s, 10 balls (of incense), [10] 'prt-pots (?) of incense for the offering-table.^u Brought as offering [for] - - - |⁸ - - 10 loaves of šyt, 10 loaves of sweets, [10] šwt, 10 - - , - - wine - -

^a Read  hws m.

^b i.e. sandstone.


^c  is certain from the photograph at the bottom of the line.

^d  is suggested by the photograph.

^e Snofru seems probable from the photograph.

^f  ?


^g wr n pr-hd suggested by the photograph.

^h Read .

ⁱ Read  as in 127 b.



^j On this cliché see POLOTSKY, *Zu den Inschriften der 11. Dynastie*, pp. 22-23.


^k See POLOTSKY, loc. cit., p. 25.


^l  is still visible on the photograph.

^m Restored from 122 E. face.


ⁿ The title of the high-priest of Memphis *Wr-hrp-hmwt* as proper name; see RANKE, p. 81, 18, for examples of New Kingdom date.

^o  seems certain on the photograph,  before it possible.

^p  from the photograph.

^q  photograph.

^r Is this the early form of 'ky, *Wb.* I, 232, 10?

^s  clearer in line 8; probably identical with *hml(i)*, *Wb.* II, 492, II, 12.

^t On the conical loaves made of incense see SCHARFF, *ZAS* 57, 53-54.

^u *Dbht-hp*, *Wb.* V, 441, 1.

|⁹ --- Brought as offering for "Coming down^a ---": 20 . . . ,^b and 10 jugs of beer, 10 cakes ḥḥ, ---, 10 ---, 10 loaves of white bread, --- |¹⁰ --- Brought as offering for the monthly festival of unveiling: 10 . . .^b of beer, 10 (?) cakes ḥḥ, 10 loaves of white bread, 10 ḥnw (?), 10 cakes sst, 10 loaves of incense, 10 balls (of incense), |¹¹ --- 2 'prt-pots of [incense (?) for] offering,^c ribs^d ---, |¹² --- ½ oipe of wine, 10 cakes ḥḥ, 10 loaves of white bread, 10 cakes ḥḥḏ, 10 cakes sst thereof (?), 5 loaves of white bread, , 10 loaves of štyt, 10 loaves of incense, 10 balls (of incense), |¹³ --- 20 cakes sst, 20 cakes ḥḥ[ḏ], 20 loaves of white bread, 20 balls of incense, made into |¹⁴ --- Brought as an offering of every decade^e of the |¹⁵ --- beer . . . , 4 loaves of white bread, 4 cakes ḥḥḏ, of beer, --- of honey, --- |¹⁶ |¹⁷ --- of going down in order to see Sopdu^f --- |¹⁸ |¹⁹ |²⁰ --- by an official --- offerings --- 20 loaves of ---, --- of incense --- |²¹ --- turquoise --- the temple of Hathor, lady of the turquoise, in --- |²² --- great [intendant] of ---.'

124. AMMENEMES IV (Pl. XLVII)

For bibliography see PORTER-MOSS, VII, 349. E.E.F. copy; no controls except the published photograph of 124 (b) (P. R., fig. 98) and of the figure of Sopdu, of which there existed no copy (see below). Collated with the original on 22.4.1935.

Scenes from the east (left-hand) half of the south wall of the Shrine of the Kings (Pl. XCII), the arrangement of which can be seen from P. R., fig. 98, and from the sketch of the walls given under 123. The inscription in horizontal lines (124 b) stood to the left of the long scene (124 a) which itself is joined on the right by 123 A. Petrie, loc. cit., p. 84, mentions Hatshepsut as among the subjects of the scenes. It is difficult to see how this conclusion was arrived at, for there is no figure of the queen; we have assigned the sculptures to Ammenemes IV, it being clear from 123 A that he founded and endowed the shrine.

The horizontal inscription 124 b (67 × 44 cm., less reduced than the scenes of 124 a, the scale of which is 1/8) should be compared with 110, 136, 137, 140, and 145. It runs, as far as legible in the copy: '--- of their bringing treasures (?) with the help (?) of very many leaders (?) coming after Snofru, the true of voice.^g There is not one among (them) who did what I have done. Excellent was the strength of my arms, the hills leading^h to what was in them for the king of Upper and Lower Egypt Nema'rē, living for ever. They have given it to him into his charge, as that which his father Atum gives to him. They have given him all the hidden turquoise of the earth, the garment of Geb,ⁱ that which has not been seen since antiquity, together with^j --- Ptahwēr.'

We now come to the long scene 124 (a). Immediately to the right of 124 (b) is a figure of Sopdu. The inscription in front of him runs '[Said] by Sopdu, lord of the east: I have given thee every foreign land.^k

Then come three figures, King Nema'rē, Ptah in his shrine, and Hathor. The damaged inscrip-

^a  still recognizable in the photograph.

^b  or , an unknown word.

^c Cf. l. 4.

^d *ḏrw*, Wb. v, 602.

^e .

^f ---    can be seen faintly on the photograph.

^g Cf. 136 S. edge and 137 W. face and read             

tions read, 'The good god, lord of the two lands, Nemarēr, [living for ever], beloved of [Ptah], south of his wall, lord of ḥAnkhtau' and 'Beloved of Hathor, lady of the turquoise, and of Ptah, south of his wall'.

To the right of this was a panel containing the sacred eyes, the ring and three $\frac{1}{2}$ -signs, also some hieroglyphic signs, the name of Hathor among them, which have almost entirely perished. Next come four figures again, the first three of which balance those on the left of the panel just described, in that the figures are the same and the inscriptions analogous: 'Son of Rē Amenemhēt, living for ever, beloved of Ptah, "He under his [moringa-tree]"',^a and '[beloved] of Hathor, lady of the good colour',^b guest at' - - -'. The fourth figure of the group, being thus a counterpart of Sopdu, is 'The king of Upper and Lower Egypt Snofru, true of voice'. The inscription continues 'may he give life, stability, and dominion to the king of Upper and Lower Egypt Ne[mar]rēr'. Behind this is another broad panel. At the top it has a row of *kheker* ornament; below are the sacred eyes, the ring and three $\frac{1}{2}$ -signs. The hieroglyphs read, 'Hathor, guest at' - - -' and 'Beloved of Hathor, lady of the turquoise, lady of' - - - -'. The vertical column of inscription on the right is the first line of 123 A which joins here.

125. AMMENEMES IV (Pl. XLVII)

For bibliography see PORTER-MOSS, VII, 349. E.E.F. copies; no controls. Collated with the original on 21.4.1935.

In the material handed to us the scenes included under this number consisted of seven separate sheets inadequately and even inconsistently marked. It was only the visit to the site in 1935 that enabled us to locate the scenes and clarify their exact relationship. Thus 125 (a)-(c) could be definitely assigned to the upper register of the right-hand half of the southern wall of the Shrine of Kings (see the sketch of the walls under 123), while 125 (d) was found to belong to the bottom register of the eastern wall of the Portico, north of the entrance to the Cave of Hathor T.^d See Pl. XCII, where '125 (d)' should be read instead of '125 (a)' in the Portico (S) and placed just above the figure '132'.

In 125 (a)-(c) right we have on the right a scene showing 'Hathor, lady of the turquoise'^e seated in front of a large pile of offerings, which include the head and various joints of an ox, two geese, loaves and cakes of various shapes, vegetables, vases of water, two incense altars, a censer of the usual arm-shape, a lotus and three sistra, apparently set in a metal stand, as well as an entire ox and a hind-leg above the whole pile. Opposite the goddess is 'King of Upper and Lower Egypt Markherurēr' wearing the crown of Lower Egypt, and holding out in both hands a vase to asperse the offerings. This is said to be 'presenting with a nemes-vase'.^f Proceeding to the left we have in a shrine 'Ptah, south of his wall, lord of ḥAnkhtau, who gives nourishment and establishes offices' on the left. On the other side of a pile of offerings stands 'King of Upper and Lower Egypt Markherurēr, beloved of Ptah, south of his wall', the scene being labelled as '[Giving] - - - [to] Ptah'. Behind the king are 'Sopdu, lord of the east' recognizable also from his head-dress (compare 122) and 'King of Upper and Lower Egypt Snofru'.

^a Restore $\frac{1}{2}$ [] $\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{1}{2}$ as on a statue of Ramesses II found at Mitrahina in 1940. For the Memphite god Hry-bikf see KEES, *Rec. trav.* 37, 60, 64.

^b The 'beautiful colour' of turquoise, see 126 and 312.

^c $\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{1}{2}$, lit. 'who is in the heart of'.

^d The copy of 125 (d) was marked 'Sanctuary, east wall'! Its position is shown on the photograph in *Stud. and Doc.* VI, pl. 1, fig. 1.

^e The rest of the signs in front of the goddess are illegible.

^f For *nd-hr m nmst* see the examples collected in *Wb.* II, 372, 12. The present one is by far the earliest of any.

^g The cartouche of Ma'kerēt (i.e. Hatshepsut), the reading of the E.E.S. copy, was hardly controllable in 1935. There can be no doubt, however, that the true reading is Markherurēr as in 125 (a). For a [] there is no room and the space and the shape of the lacuna suit $\frac{1}{2}$ well.

Behind this to the left is 125 (a)–(c) *left*. The first scene shows the king being embraced by Thoth. To the left of this we see Ptah in his shrine and Hathor holding in her left hand a *menat*-necklace and, with her right, passing on some object to Ptah through the open door of the shrine.^a The inscription reads, ‘*Ptah, south of his wall. Hathor, lady of the turquoise*’.

To the left of this again the goddess is seen holding out an *uas*-sceptre towards the king. The upper half of the vertical line of inscription behind the king which, judging from the direction of the hieroglyphs, belongs to this scene, was entirely lost in 1935; the copy of the lower half – *- t pn mr.n sw* is correct, but to us unintelligible.

At the extreme left is a somewhat similar scene of a female figure^b presenting to the king a *menat* in her left hand and another object (now lost) in her right hand. Between the two figures stands a figure of a child holding out his right hand to the king and carrying in his left the sign of life. This, as the hieroglyphs behind show, is ‘*Ihy*’. *Ihy* is a name often bestowed on Harsamtau, the son of Hathor, and hence applied to the priests of Hathor.^c

No. 125(d) shows a group of at least four officials whose names are lost with the exception of one, *Sonbu* (?). The next after him was an official ‘*of the Treasury*’.

126. AMMENEMES IV (Pl. XLI)

E.E.F. copy; no controls. Large round-topped stela, breadth 72 cm. No note of provenance. Collated with the original on 14.1935, when the bottom part was still standing in the Portico to the left of the entrance from the Approach to Sopdu; see Pl. XCII. It was very badly weathered and only a few signs could barely be verified.

In the lunette is the winged disk and below it the king, wearing the cap and the double feathers, adores Hathor on the left and Ptah on the right. The king’s titles are ‘*King of Upper and Lower Egypt Maakherurê, son of Rê Amenemhêt, endowed with life for ever, beloved of Hathor; lady of the turquoise and lady of the good colour*’.^d The central portion of the stela with the vertical lines of the main inscription is defaced except for a few signs at the bottom of each line. Below is a seated figure of the ‘*Intendant of the chamber of presents* (?)^e *Ekhtay-senby*,^f possessing honour’. On the opposite side of a well-laden offering table are ‘*His beloved brother Rensonb*’ and ‘*His brother Intef*’.

127. AMMENEMES IV (Pl. XLVIII)

For bibliography see PORTER–MOSS, VII, 356. E.E.F. copies; no controls except J.L., VII, 2, for the two left hand columns of (a).

Inscriptions from the walls of the Portico, see P. R., p. 93 and fig. 109. Scale 1/6 throughout.


Fragment a. The copy was marked ‘front of cave’ and its left edge was marked ‘edge of jamb’. Now Petrie, loc. cit., states that the south side of the doorway from the Portico to the Cave bears the names of Ammenemes IV. It is clear from this that the fragment occupied the south (right-hand)


^a One wing only of the door is represented, not two as in SCHÄFER, *Von ägyptischer Kunst*, 3rd ed., p. 119 and fig. 59 on p. 118. The wing shows sculptured decoration, while in 124 (a) or STOLK, *Ptah*, p. 52, it is not decorated.

^b This can hardly be Hathor, as the figure is drawn on a smaller scale than the king.

^c See the article BLACKMAN, ‘Priest, Priesthood (Egyptian)’, III, 2, in HASTINGS, *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*.


^d Read  and compare 124 (a) and 312.

^e Found illegible in 1935. Read: *imy-r chmoty* . The same man occurs on Cairo stela 20399, e.f. For the title see *Wb.* III, 119, 3; to the examples quoted there add our 127 (c), Berlin, *A.I.* 1, 186, and MORET, *Cat. du Musée Guimet, Galerie égyptienne*, pl. xi.

^f The collation has confirmed the  at the end of the name.

portion of the east wall of the Portico, the first two columns on the left being on the doorpost, the angle of the doorpost being marked in the copy by a shaded line and a sketch of the section. This location was confirmed by inspection in 1935 when the inscription was collated as far as it was not covered by enormous stone slabs fallen from the roof.

'Horus "Growth of growths" ----- in renewing -----.' *Speech: [I have given] thee every good thing that is in -----.* *Speech: I have given thee all life, dominion, all health and all joy.'*

'Horus "Growth of growths" ----- year ----- month of Inundation season, day 4 (?) -----.' After the line beginning with  ----- about four more lines are lost before the corner of the wall is reached.

The *kheker*-frieze above shows that the inscription comes from the top of a wall.

Fragment b. Palmer's copy, given by Weill, is marked 'Part of old wall by the entrance to the cave'. This fixes the position to some part of the Portico, and in P. R., fig. 109, it is visible on the eastern half of the north wall. In 1935 only the upper part with the frieze was found lying in the Portico; de Buck in 1930 noted that it was 'facing S', therefore on the north wall and presumably *in situ*. Not much can be made of the inscription which is very incomplete and effaced.

'----- these courtiers, his face ----- this god. They said: O sovereign ----- therein. The good god, peer of ----- thy majesty. He made the heaven of copper, of - - - mankind, excellent of plans ----- for the [treasurer (?)] of the king of Lower Egypt, friend, overseer of the royal -----, courtiers who are in -----.' This seems to describe a council of king and courtiers, and then to recount the virtues and titles of some official whose name is lost. Of the inscription on the lower block on the left nothing is intelligible.

Fragment c. The copy is marked 'near 40', 40 being the number originally given by the expedition to our 120. The inscription is therefore clearly from the Portico (see Pl. XCII) and this is confirmed by its exact correspondence in size and style to fragments *a* and *b*. As no portion of the wall space is very near to the stela 120 we may assume that the block had been displaced and lay on the ground. It would therefore be idle to attempt to fix its exact position on the walls. In 1935 it was found still lying in the Portico and collated except for column 1 and parts of column 2 which were missing.

The copy is obviously faulty owing to the bad preservation of the fragment. Column 3 reads, 'It is the lord of the necropolis, excellent -----', column 4 'free from bad smell'^a and column 5 *mi wdt.n nbt i[n]* 'in accordance with all that had been commanded by -----'. Column 6 contains the title 'Intendant of the chamber [of presents]',^b for which see the note on 126.

128. AMMENEMES IV (Pl. XLIV A)

E.E.F. copy, no controls, 56 × 9 cm. Now presumably in the Cairo Museum.

The copy is marked 'front sanctuary'. There can be little doubt that this is the inscription from the stump of one of the Ammenemes IV columns which supported the Portico roof, P. R., p. 93. The width of the inscribed face, 9 cm., agrees almost exactly with the 3.7 in. there given.

The inscription runs: '----- king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Markherurēr, son of Rēr of his body, Amenemhēt. He made [it as his] monument -----.'

129 and 129 A. AMMENEMES IV (Pl. XLIV A)

E.E.F. copy; no controls. Collated with the original on 8.4.1935.

Both 129 and 129 A are two sides of the same stone from an architrave inscription. 129 was

^a 'Irb, *Wb.* 1, 29, 19.

^b 'Imy-r (substitute a lacuna for ) *chnwtj n t [hnt]*.

marked on the copy as from the 'Hathor Sanctuary', which does not help us. It seems safe to assume that this is a portion of the architrave of the Portico, supported by the fluted columns of Ammenemes IV from which comes the inscription 128. (See P. R., p. 93.) The thickness of this architrave, there given as 11½ inches, agrees exactly with the dimensions of our copy.

Of the inscription all that remains is '----- *Maḥherurē*, [*beloved*] of Hathor, lady of the turquoise -----.'

The copy of 129 A is marked 'not far to the south of No. 38'. Now 38 was the original number of our stela 110, which forms the north wall of the Portico Court. This corroborates our suggestion that the fragment comes from just beside the columns of the Portico.

The remnant of inscription runs, '----- *Amenemhēt*, [*beloved of*] Hathor, lady of the [good] col[our]'.^a

According to a pencil note on the copy the signs 𓆎𓅓 were found on the under side of the block and 𓆎𓅓𓆎 on its other face. The latter, of course, is 129, but the former, meaning 'god's treasurer, in[tendant]'

130. AMMENEMES IV (Pl. XL)

Drawn from an E.E.F. photograph. Collated with the original on 6.4.1935. There is no note of its provenance; in 1935 it was lying in the Old Approach between 85 and 136. Dimensions: height 79 cm., width from the centre of the winged-disk to the border 23 cm., thickness 32 cm.

It forms the edge of a round-topped stela.^b At the top we see the sky supported by two uas-sceptres. The three signs form a square space which contains the winged disk and the titulary of Ammenemes IV monumentally arranged. On the right we have 'Horus "Growth of growths", endowed with life, perpetuity and dominion like Rē for ever'. The winged disk behind the Horus bird should be compared with that in a similar position in 127 (a). In the centre is 'King of Upper and Lower Egypt Maḥherurē -----'. The inscription in horizontal lines which followed the titulary has entirely perished, except for the beginning 'Royal -----' and the proper name *Djaf-Hor[emso]* who is known from other monuments to have lived under Ammenemes IV.

131. AMMENEMES III (?). YEAR 23 (Pl. XL)

E.E.F. copy, controlled by E.E.F. photograph in the case of the left side, and by a good squeeze throughout. Mentioned in P. R., 124 (as of year 24); provenance not stated. Now in the Royal Scottish Museum, Edinburgh, no. 1905.284.3.

The inscriptions are from the pedestal of a rough statue of a seated female figure, clearly Hathor herself.

On the right is the royal titulary and dedication: 'The good god, lord of the two lands, son of Rē, Amenemhēt. He made (it) as his monument to his mother Hathor, living (?).'

In the centre, i.e. down the back of figure and pedestal, we read 'Year 23. The beloved^c of his lord, excellent of eloquence,^d quiet of step, the god's treasurer Merru, possessing honour.'

^a Reading 𓆎𓅓𓆎𓅓 and comparing 124, 126, and 312.

^b It is possible that we have under some other number the inscriptions from the faces and other edge, but all our attempts to establish a connexion have failed. Černý must have been

mistaken in considering 130 as the upper part of 102 (see *Stud. and Doc.* VI, 12).

^c There is a superfluous 𓆎 after mry.

^d Not an error for 𓆎𓅓, see examples of *ikr st ns* collected by JANSSEN, *Eg. Autobiografie*, I, p. 5, G 44-48.

On the left side of the pedestal is 'True acquaintance of the king, his beloved of his affection, sole excellent one of - - - - -, the god's treasurer, Merru'.^a

132. AMMENEMES [III?] (Pl. XL)

E.E.F. copy; no controls. 40 × 82 cm. Collated with the original on 1.4.1935, when it was found in the Portico.

The copy is marked by Petrie 'Lintel of cave'. It is beyond all doubt the 'lintel slab, 16 in. high, of an Amenemhat' found at the doorway into the cave (P. R., p. 93). The height of our slab, 40 cm., agrees precisely with the height given here.

The scene, of which not more than half remains, was symmetrically arranged. In the centre at the top was the winged disk. Below this was a symbolical representation of the union of the two kingdoms. Of this there remains only the right-hand portion, in which the vulture goddess Nekhbet is perched on the *neb*-sign above the plant of Upper Egypt, holding in her claw (the copy, damaged here, does not show whether it was represented as a human hand) what appears to be the *uas*-sceptre. On the left a similar group doubtless showed Edjō over the plant of Lower Egypt.

In the right-hand portion of the scene the 'Son of Rē, Amenemhēt' wearing the red crown, presents a conical loaf of bread to the 'Lady of the turquoise'. The lost left half would surely have shown him in the white crown, and given us his *nsw-bit* name.

We have attributed the lintel to the third Ammenemes simply because he seems to have been responsible for the arrangement of the Hathor Cave in its present form. See P. R., p. 98, and the monuments 83, 84, 89, 94, and 95.

133. MIDDLE KINGDOM. REIGN UNKNOWN. YEAR 8 (?) (Pl. LV)

E.E.F. copy; no means of control. Collated with the original on 16.4.1935.

Large round-topped stela, badly defaced, 150 × 50 cm. Found in the Approach to the temple at point IV in Pl. XCI. See WEILL, P.S., p. 175.^b

Of one face, B, little remains except the lunette, which gives a date, possibly 'year 8 under the majesty of'. On the other face, A, there remain in the lunette traces of unintelligible signs probably containing a date. Below this were the king's name and titles in the centre with the words 'Beloved of Hathor, lady of the turquoise' placed on either side in heraldic fashion. Lower still (according to a note on the E.E.F. copy, confirmed by inspection in 1935) are traces of fourteen lines of horizontal inscription, of which only a few beginnings or ends are legible. Lines 1-7 apparently contained laudatory epithets of some official. With l. 8 we reach a list of the staff of an expedition: an 'interpreter' appears at the beginning of lines 10 and 11; two 'petty-officials' (*iry-rt*) occur in l. 12, and possibly '20(+x) ferrymen' ([$\overline{1}$] $\overline{20}$ \overline{ferry} \overline{men}) in l. 13. The bottom of the stela is broken off.

The two edges have weathered completely.

134. MIDDLE KINGDOM (?) (Pl. XLIV A)

E.E.F. copy; no controls. Not seen in 1935.

Round-topped stela almost entirely defaced, 89 × 56 cm. The copy is marked 'S. of Hanafiyeh'

^a Cf. note on 81.

^b The first few numbers of Weill's series appear to correspond to those of the E.E.F. expedition. This stela was num-

bered 4 by the E.E.F. and may safely be equated with Weill's no. 4. A rapid copy of face A in Weill's notebook has been annotated by Petrie rather vaguely 'Hill W. of Temple'.

and the stela is therefore in all probability one of the four rectangular objects shown in Pl. XCII in the rectangular enclosure south of the Ḥanafiyeh.

In the lunette stood the date, 'Year 9 (?) under - - - - -'. Of the double offering scene below there remains nothing but part of the figure of Hathor (?) on the right and the figure of a king on the left with the ram's horns, double feathers, and disk. Behind it the word 'like *Rē* for ever'.

135. MIDDLE KINGDOM. REIGN UNKNOWN, YEAR 8 (Pl. XL)

E.E.F. copy; no controls. Not seen in 1935.

Top of rounded stela marked 'Lying north of gate, re-used in building', 19 × 55 m. Only the date is preserved: 'Year 8 under the majesty of - - - - -'.

136. MIDDLE KINGDOM. REIGN UNKNOWN, YEAR 11 (Pl. XLIX)


For bibliography see PORTER-MOSS, VII, 349.

E.E.F. copies of both faces and of the south edge; the upper part of the west face controlled by the B.M. squeeze and by a rather flat photograph by Borchardt; upper part of south edge controlled by a good E.E.F. photograph. The north edge, previously known only from a hand copy by E. H. Palmer, was substantially improved upon in a collation with the original on 7.4.1935.

Round-topped stela inscribed on all four sides; breadth of face 64 cm., breadth of edge 29-33 cm. The total height of the stela is over 210 cm. Its position near the Shrine of the Kings, as shown in Pl. XCII, is fixed by Petrie's original rough plan and confirmed by photographs. The stela is badly defaced, especially in the middle.

The inscriptions of this stela are of considerable interest, and it is the more to be regretted that they have suffered so badly. The form of the reference to Snofru and certain other phrases which accompany this enable us to group this stela with 124, 137, 140, and 145. Unfortunately not one of the five monuments gives the complete reading of these phrases, and what is more they all fail at the same points, so that a complete and certain restoration of the formulae is impossible.


East face, south edge, and west face (continuous inscription)

The east face held, as usual, the royal titulary. In the lunette is the date, 'Year 11 under the majesty of'. Of the titulary there remains only 'Horus' and 'King of Upper and Lower Egypt'. On the left is the figure of Ptah in his shrine which forms part of  '[beloved of] Pta[h, south of his] wall'.

Below was an inscription in eight vertical columns which ran on to the south edge and then to the west face.

On the east face itself nothing is left except the ends of the columns: '- - - frank of heart, quiet [of step] - - - - - to the double treasuries of gold and silver, coming - - - - - Upper and Lower Egypt - - - - -, excellent of counsel - - - - - his - - - - - I gave - - - - - every one [who has come] to this land, the intendant - - - - - in the neighbourhood^a of the gallery - - - - - turquoise (?) like [South edge] a captured bed^b bearing cucumbers.^c I found - - - - - very many

^a Read *m sḥw* and compare 137 W. face, l. 7.

^b An early example of  *b(ḥ)dt*, Wb. I, 432, 8 'bed (of gourds)', later *bndt*, HORTÉ, on which see GARDINER, *Hierat. Pap. in the B.M., Third Series*, I, 15, n. 2; 50, n. 5,

and GARDINER, *Onomastica*, II, 220*.

^c Identical with *sḥpt*, Wb. IV, 284, 11, as perhaps also is *sḥpt*, Wb. III, 485, 11.

leaders(?)^a in coming after Snofru. There is not one among them who did what I have done^b -----
 to him(?) --- Hathor inasmuch as^c ----- the mountains ----- that which was everywhere
 in them and that which they hid from (our) ancestors. I was not downcast at the head of my [expedition].^d
 I succeeded in seizing a good opportunity^e and all the produce without end.^f ----- they -----
 me.^g [West face]. They said when I arrived "How glad is whoever comes with him -----, possessing
 honour, [he says]: "O you who live and are upon the earth, king's gentlemen and courtiers -----
 [give praise to the king, exalt his might, praise] the king, [behold] what has happened for him; the hills
 lead to what is in them, they bring to light [the hidden thing that is in them]^h ----- before
 them; Father Geb decrees it to him and Tatjenenⁱ ----- worked^j
 it for him. It was the ordinance of his majesty that came to pass^k ----- he restored^l
 their temples and they have given him health and joy upon the throne of Horus ----- their
 ----- Retjenu through the vigilance of his forces. The great rulers ----- the fear of him.
 Those who are among those of the Red Land have fallen, his diadem has bound the nine bows -----
 -----.

The lower part of the west face contains a list of members of the expedition:

'The interpreter Khenems, possessing honour.

The interpreter Amenyuah, possessing honour.

The scribe Hēdedi, possessing honour, conceived of Ipet, possessing honour.

-----i, possessing honour, conceived of Tinet^m possessing honour.

The petty official Khentyemsaf, possessing [honour].

The petty official of the Treasury Djesersise (?), possessing [honour].

Staff of Selket Akhtoy, possessing honour.

Domestic of the rêis Nakht, possessing honour.


Domestic of the rêis Senwosret, possessing honour.'







At the top of this face is the scanty remnant of an offering scene. In the photograph the face gives the impression of a palimpsest.


North edge

Two vertical columns: 'O you living and who are upon the earth, who will come to this foreign country, if you ----- that Hathor, mistress^a of should give you ----- thousand of bread and beer, ox, fowl, alabaster and garments and all good and pure things for the ka of the intendant and governor of Lower Egypt, Inen, possessing honour, conceived of Sit-inenet (?) -----.'

In 101 we have a man of the same name who is *idnw n imy-r sdwt*, and is possibly the same man at an earlier stage of his career.

^a Read  or similar. Cf. 124, l. 2.

^b Read . There are indications of  is certain from the photograph. For  see 124, l. 3, but there is no sign of the second  on the photograph or on the original.  is clear, but the sign below it on the copy was probably not .

^c  [t n].

^d Read  and see 140 S., l. 4.



^e Cf. 90 W., l. 16.

^f Read    .

^g  with an intrusive  between a suffix ending in n


and the dependent pronoun; see GARDINER, *Gr.*, § 62.

^h For the preceding sentences compare 53, ll. 9-11.

ⁱ In the photograph and on the original  is practically certain below . For Tatjenen in conjunction with Geb see 53, ll. 11-12.

^j  more probable from photograph than .

^k Compare 141 and 196. Taken as future by GUNN, *Studies in Egyptian Syntax*, p. 11 (62).

^l The first sign in the column is clearly  in the photograph.

^m See RANKE, p. 378, 14.

ⁿ *Hwt*.

The vertical lines are followed at the bottom by six horizontal ones of which only the beginnings remain; they give further participants in the expedition:

'Interpreter -----; stone carver -----; coppersmith (?) ----- . The number of -----
----- (x+) 38; Donkeys -----; Foreman 'Ankef -----.'

137. MIDDLE KINGDOM (Pl. L)

E.E.F. copies; uncontrolled except by mediocre photographs in the case of the west face. Useless copies by Palmer of portions of west face. Collated with the original on 16.4.1935.

This round-topped stela was found built into the east wall of the Shrine of the Kings (see P. R., p. 85); the two square holes in the upper part of the south edge undoubtedly served for the insertion of some beams for construction. The position of the stela is marked on Petrie's rough plan and confirmed by photographs.

East face. 62 cm. broad.

Only a few signs from the bottom remain. The inscription was flanked by two *uas*-sceptres supporting, no doubt, the sign of heaven.

South edge. 184 × 31 cm.

The inscription is practically unintelligible as it stands, only a phrase or two being susceptible of translation:

|¹ '----- [he] came (?) and did more^a than was ordered [to him] ----- great of kindness, to whom one hastens in^b |² ----- intendant, ----- of the quarry-work, who brings ----. He says ---- living for ever, son of Atum, descendant of him |³ ----- [under] his supervision^c ----- with (?) us like the Northern Land.'

North edge. 145 × 30 cm.

Very little is comprehensible.





|¹ 'The ancestors since Snofru. The stone cutters who overlook it (?) when [they] go down (?) -----
----- |² gallery ----- rejoice and joyful^a ----- |³ Hathor ----- good produce from this
----- because it belongs to her (??), incense, thousands of bread and beer ---- cloth, and all things
[good] and pure -----.'

West face. Beneath 62 cm.

The lunette and a space below it either were left blank or are defaced. Below is a text in seven vertical columns, badly damaged, which should be read in conjunction with the similar texts of 124, 136, 140, and 145, from which considerable restoration is possible.

|¹ We journeyed even as men who (go) to their own nomes. I was not downcast [at the head of my force].^e I succeeded in seizing a good opportunity. I gave out food at the rate of ten (loaves of) bread per head ----. |² All^f rejoiced; there was none weary of heart,^g my rations (?)^h ----- of their bringing

^a [Dî:]f hrw.


^b The author almost certainly intended to write  'to hasten' (note the determinative which is not  but , Wb. II, 351, 4, retaining the hieratic form of .

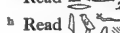
^c Reading [hr] st-hr.f.

^d .

^e Cf. 140. Or 'at the thought of the work', cf. 90, l. 16.

^f Fndw hr ršrš, lit. 'noses rejoiced'.

^g Read  as in 140 S. edge, lines 8-9.

^h Read  Cf. 140, l. 9 and note thereto.

treasures^a ----- very many [leaders (?)] |³ <in> coming after Snofru. There was not one of them who did what I have done,^b excellent [was the success of my arms].^c The hills lead on to what is [in them for the king of Upper and Lower Egypt] ----- they have [given it to him into his charge] |⁴ as what (his) father [Atum] has granted him. To him belongs all the turquoise which was hidden [in] this [mountain and which has not been seen] since antiquity. ----- |⁵ ----- |⁶ ----- I speak a great thing, I cause you to hear. If ye shall come to this region ----- |⁷ the majesty of this god in the neighbourhood of the gallery of ----- of year 11 which the servant of his lord opened when he came for turquoise, the gallery being -----.

Horizontal lines at the bottom (at least two lines lost):

|¹ 'Stone carvers, 2; stone workers (whs) ----- |² peasants 43, rowers 20, men (si) ----- |³ serfs of the god's treasurer, 2. Asses 500 -----.'

Then follows in tabular form a list of the food given to the different classes of workmen; the readings are unfortunately very doubtful.

		Hft- loaves	Various bread	Various wine	Beer
⁵ Foreman 1,	20 men, 100 men,	1	4	1	
	14 100 men	2	6	1	
Stone cutters	10 64 men	4 (?)	8 (?)	(blank)	(blank)
⁶ Remainder of young troops ^d	10 151 men	2 (?)	9 (?)	(blank)	

138. MIDDLE KINGDOM, REIGN UNKNOWN. YEAR 31 (Pl. LIV)

E.E.F. copy, no controls. Collated on 20.4.1935 with the original which did not show more than was given in the copy.

The position in the Approach to the temple assigned to this stela in our Pl. XCI is the spot where it was found lying in 1935. The first edition had assigned it to the position marked 14 by WEILL, P.S., map on p. 177,^e which is in reality the position of 147.

The date, 'Year 31', in the lunette might refer either to Sesostri I or Ammenemes III. This is clearly the east face. The west face, as shown by an unweathered fragment and by the top of the stela, was uninscribed—at least in its upper part—and so were the two edges, the original surface of which was still preserved in places.

139. Forms part of 141, see the latter.

140. MIDDLE KINGDOM (Pl. LI)

E.E.F. copy, no controls. Not found again in 1935.

The position of this round-topped stela as shown on Pl. XCII in the Portico Court is a little doubtful. It may have stood a few feet to the north-east, exactly on the spot where the figures 110 stand, these of course referring to the stela (black in the plan) immediately to the right of them. In

^a Cf. 140, l. 11 and note, also 124 (b), l. 1.

^b Read .

^c Cf. 124.

^d Abbreviated for *ḡm n nfrw*, Wb. II, 258, 3.

^e As the number originally given by the E.E.F. expedition to this stela was 14, and as Weill's numbers in this map generally, though not always, agree with the numbers given by the expedition, it would seem plausible to assume that

this was the point at which it stood. Petrie, however, in a rough unpublished plan of the approach shows about 50 yards to the west of this a point marked *nnnl*, undoubtedly intended to be the spot where this stela was found. Moreover, the stela stated by Weill to have been found at Point 14 is said (op. cit., p. 176) to have been 'trop détériorée pour pouvoir être datée'. The matter thus stood in some doubt, and the query accompanying 138 was fully justified.

Petrie's original rough plan this stela was marked at the point at which 140 appears in our plan. Now photographs show, firstly, that if a stela stood here it was a very low one, or only the lower part of one, and, secondly, that the portion of 140 from which the inscriptions copied were taken stood up against 110 on its south side. We must therefore assume either that the place as shown on the plan is wrong, or, what is more probable, that the lower portion of the stela was still actually in position on the spot marked 140, while the inscribed upper part was found up against 110.^a There is no clue in P. R. to help us.

East face. (Visible low on the left in P. R., fig. 109.)

The copy is marked 'east face'. In the position in which the stela stands in the photographs the faces are north and south, and the south appears to be completely weathered away. Petrie may have had evidence for supposing that this was originally the east face.

It contains only scanty remnants of a royal titulary. In the lunette is the date, 'Year - - - - - under the majesty of the good god - - - - -'. Below was a figure of the king in the blue crown^b offering a conical loaf to Hathor on the right, who holds out towards his nose the sign of life on the end of a *uas*-sceptre. On the left a similar scene showed the king and Ptah, 'Lord of truth' in his shrine. The rest has perished.

South edge

The copy is marked 'north edge'. As the stela stands on the photograph it is the west edge.

It is most regrettable that this edge was not properly photographed. The photograph in which it appears was apparently taken to show the west edge of 110, and the signs on 140 are quite invisible. The inscription belongs to the type found on 124, 136, 137, and 145, and a good photograph would possibly have enabled us to establish the uncertain readings of all these.

'¹ The divine chancellor (?) - - - - - ,^c who treads ² the foreign lands^d for him who is in the palace. ³ He says "I was not downcast ⁴ at the head of my expedition.^e I arrived ⁵ to seize^f a good opportunity. My craftsmen arrived^g ⁶ quite complete,^h there was ⁷ never a case of loss among them. My ⁸ force rejoiced; there was none ⁹ weary of heart,ⁱ my rations (?)^j being ¹⁰ - - - - - every day. There was not (?) ¹¹ - - - - - noble (?)^k ¹² - - - - - [very] many [leaders (?) ¹³ had come] after ¹⁴ S[nofru]. [There was not one] of them [who did what I have done] - - - - -'.




141. MIDDLE KINGDOM (Pl. LII)


For bibliography see PORTER-MOSS, VII, 348, and 365 (for old 139).

The upper part of the stela is certainly the old 139, a portion of a round-topped stela, seen by Niebuhr, by Burton, by Lottin de Laval, and by Lepsius's expedition, but which has disappeared

^a On the possibility of 140 being one of the two Tuthmosis III stelae mentioned in P. R., p. 92, see our commentary on 62, above, p. 84.


^b The occurrence of the blue crown does not necessarily imply a New Kingdom date for the monument, see GARDINER, *JEA* 39, 28 and n. 1.

^c Supposing  to be correct the determinative calls for a personal name here. The signs suggest a compound beginning with  or .

^d Emend .

^e For this and the next phrase see 90 W., ll. 15-16.

^f Read  .

^g Read  .

^h Read .

ⁱ  .

^j *fk* is perhaps the noun meaning rations. Otherwise the verb 'to reward'. See 137 W., l. 2.

^k This seems to establish the reading *šps* and not *šps* in the parallel texts. Is it used in its not uncommon sense of 'good things (to eat)'?

South edge

'King's acquaintance, [god's] treasurer, intendant - - - -, true of voice, possessing honour.'

Near the bottom on the left is a graffito 'Stone cutter - - - -'.

North Edge

'Truly (beloved) of his lord, firm of sandal, quiet of steps, exact and reliable one^a of the lord of the two lands, exploring rod^b of - - - - - [A]menemhēt.'

On the left is an unintelligible graffito, and on the right two more, '- - - - - to (?) Hathor, lady of the turquoise' and, lower down, 'The butler Sihathor'.

142. AMMENEMES III (Pl. LIII)

E.E.F. copies; no controls. Collated with the original and completed on 8.4.1935.

The position of this round-topped stela at the north side of the Porch (Pl. XCII) was fixed by Petrie's original plan and confirmed by the Harvard expedition in 1935.

East face

Copy marked 'top, no more left'. On inspection, however, this turned out to be a complete face, 207 cm. high and 74 cm. broad, though utterly illegible and practically worthless. At the top a portion of the lunette and of the panel below it, with remains of a royal scene and titulary '- - - - - [below]ed [of - - - - -] like Rē, for ever'. Then follow six illegible horizontal lines and below them an offering scene showing a man seated on the left before a table with food and two men on a smaller scale advancing towards him from the right and bringing bread and fowl.

West face. Breadth 70 cm.

A considerable part in the centre was found destroyed in 1935. Clearly a portion of a funerary inscription.

'¹ - - - - - good (?) - - - - - of this foreign land (for)^c the ka of the chief intendant of the Treasury, Ameny, conceived of Sit-Hathor, true of voice, possessing honour. ² - - - - - offerings of bread and beer], oxen-flesh and fowl, incense and ointment, every good and pure thing on which the god^d lives, for the ka of the intendant Ameny, possessing honour. ³ - - - - - [of] this [land] for the ka of the chief intendant of the Treasury Ameny, conceived of Sit-Hathor, true of voice, possessing honour. ⁴ - - - - - that he may give the sweet wind of life to the ka of the chief intendant of the Treasury Ameny, conceived of Sit-Hathor, true of voice, possessing honour. ⁵ - - - - - food (?) to the ka of the chief intendant of the Treasury Ameny, conceived of Sit-Hathor, true of voice, possessing honour. ⁶ - - - - - [every] good [and pure thing] - - - - - to [the ka of] the chief in[tendant] of the Treasury Ameny, true of voice, possessing honour.'

North edge

A squeeze made in 1935 being inaccessible, the inscription is given from a hand-copy:

'¹ - - - - - Chief [intend]ant of the Treasury, Ameny, true of voice, possessing honour, repeating life

^a For Middle Kingdom examples of the epithets *ḥḥ* and *mtr* consult JANSSEN, *Eg. Autobiografie*, I, 10-11, and 23-24.

^b *Hrj*, determined by *ḥ*, is a 'measuring tape', see *Wb.* III, 223, 20-22; figuratively PRISSE 8, 5. *ḥ* is either *smt* (*Wb.* IV,

144, 6) or *smt*r (*Wb.* IV, 145, 8).

^c The draughtsman has omitted an *mn* before *ḥ* because of the preceding *mn*.

^d The first of the *ḥ*'s should of course be *ḥ*.

|² - - - - - *I made^a south and north, I have trodden the lands of the gods^b in order to bring* |³ - - - - -
Nemarrē, living eternally and for ever, the chief intendant Amenye,^c true of voice. |⁴ - - - - - *in the*
office of accounts, watching over them, full of^d

South edge. Breadth 39 cm.

The upper part is damaged. The remains of the inscription read:







‘|¹ [- - - - - *you who*] *shall come to this foreign land, if you wish to arrive (home) in safety,* |² [*say*
“An offering-which-the-king-gives” to] Hathor, lady of the turquoise, so that she may give offerings (of
bread and beer), oxen-flesh and fowl, incense and ointment, to the ka of the chief intendant of the
Treasury Amenye.’

143. MIDDLE KINGDOM. YEAR $x+17$ OF AMMENEMES III (Pl. LIII A)

For bibliography see PORTER-MOSS, VII, 355. E.E.F. copies; no controls. Collated with the original and completed on 13.4.1935.

Round-topped stela broken in two parts and built into the south wall of the Porch (P. R., p. 91, and our Pl. XCII). The position was fixed by Petrie's rough original plan; the lower part was still *in situ* in 1935. A note on the copy of the east face states that half this face was built in.

East face, 57 cm. broad. The upper fragment is 129 cm. high.

In the lunette are the remains of a date, ‘[Year $x+$] 17’, below this a panel containing a royal titulary. The sign  shows that the king in question was Ammenemes III whose Horus name was . With this agree also the signs  in the *nbtj*-name, the trace above it, however, must somehow be  to fit  . The lower part of this face contained an inscription in four vertical lines; of their remains little is intelligible: in line 2 ‘*to equip the house (?)* - - - - - *of the king,* line 3 - - - - - *excellent of plans, wise,* - - -, line 4 - - - - - *chief intendant of the Treasury Ptahshed, possessing honour.*’

West face. Breadth 57 cm.

Part of a list of officials: ‘|¹ *The scribe Senwosret.* |² *The interpreter Senberau.* |³ *Staff of Selket, Iy.* |⁴ *Petty official of the Great House Iufnai (?).*^e |⁵ *Petty official of the Treasury, Atumwoser.* |⁶ - - - - -
 - - - *nakht (?).* |⁷ - - - - -

On the lower part: ‘|^{x+2} *Foreman* - - - - -. |^{x+3} *Foreman Kesem.* |^{x+4} *Foreman* - - - - -. |^{x+5} *Stone cutter I* - - - - -, *Senb* - - - - -. |^{x+6} *Snofru, Ptahsenefer.* |^{x+7} - - - - - *ankh* - - - - -
Itef - - - - -, *Werptah* - - - - -.’

North edge (31 cm).

‘|¹ *King's acquaintance* - - - - - *who traversed^f in order to bring what his majesty wishes,*
 |² - - - - - *hnp (?) - cakes, first quality oil,*^g, ^h 1 ox, 2 wad-geese.’

This probably is the enumeration of presents and offerings brought for the goddess Hathor.

^a i.e. ‘I travelled in’, see GARDINER, *Notes on the Story of Sinuhe*, p. 97.

^b See *Wb.* v, 221, 10.

^c There is nothing to identify this man with the Amenye of the Maghârah inscription 28, whose mother is not named. The two are nevertheless probably the same.

^d *Dbwut- ϵ* or *prwt- ϵ* ?

^e Read   ?

^f []   seemed possible in front of the original.

^g *Tpt*, *Wb.* v, 293, 13.

^h Unknown.

The north edge probably held a continuation of the same inscription, for in its first column we find 'in the sight of the father Geb - - - - - gods fix his laws^a - - - - - their products - - -.'

The west face of the stela (old 148, 90 × 39 cm.) is also badly defaced; the little that can be made out runs as follows: '- - - - - cold water and incense to the intendant Merru,^b possessing honour - - - - - in peace, say - - - - - offerings and - - - - - he - - - - - the land by his counsels - - - - -.'

147. MIDDLE KINGDOM (Pl. XLII A)

E.E.F. copy; no control. Collated with the original on 17.4.1935. Height, including the base, 306 cm., width 54 cm., thickness 30 cm.

The inscription of the north edge was numbered 15 by the expedition, and since Weill adopted these numbers, at least in dealing with this part of the site, we first thought we might fairly assume that the stela stood at point XV on Weill's map, *P.S.*, p. 177, and on our Pl. XCI. We were aware, however, that on p. 176 Weill mentions no stela at this point, but only the entrance of a quarry with inscriptions in the rock, of which the chief is of year 38 of Ammenemes III (51). In 1935, however, 147 was found lying broken in three pieces near point XIV, and it is there that it is shown in our Pl. XCI.

The east face is completely worn and only shows the Lower Egyptian crown belonging to a standing hawk in the rounded top.

The translation of the north edge runs: 'Hereditary prince and count, who fills the heart of the king outside - - - - -.' The south edge: 'Hereditary prince and count, intendant^c - - - - -.' The west face of the stela is blank.

148.

Forms part of 146; see the latter.

149. MIDDLE KINGDOM (Pl. XLI)

E.E.F. copy; no controls. Collated with the original on 2.4.1935 and was then believed to be a fragment of a wall of the Portico; the E.E.F. copy, however, is marked 'East wall of sanctuary'. Measures 112 × 59 cm.

The inscription of thirteen lines is badly defaced and the only words legible are 'I directed the work' in l. 2.

150.

This is the upper part of 141 N. edge; see under the latter.

151. MIDDLE KINGDOM (Pl. LI)

E.E.F. copies; no controls.

Fragmentary inscriptions from door jambs, probably from the region of the Sanctuary. The copies are marked as follows:

(a) 'Jamb of door to Sopd.' Now at Brussels, E. 2148 a, publ. SPELEERS, *Recueil des inscriptions égyptiennes*, p. 17 [78 A].

^a *Srh hptw.f.*

^b For this official, see note on 81.

^c *h* is omitted before *hmtw* and *h* does double duty for *h* of *hsty-h* and that of *hmtw*.

- (b) 'Fragment of Sopd door.' Collated in 1935 while lying on the hill above the Cave of Hathor.
 (c) 'L. side, door jamb sanctuary.' Present whereabouts unknown.
 (d) No indication. Present whereabouts unknown.

Thus (a) and (b), inscribed with the name of '*The intendant Merru*',^a are probably from the two jambs of one of the doors leading into either the Approach to Sopdu or the Hall of Sopdu.

Fragments (c) and (d) are from the two jambs of a doorway which we cannot fix. They bear the name of '*Khentekhtaysonb, possessing honour*'. Unfortunately the copies do not enable us to determine this man's title, which is also doubtful in 126, if indeed it is he who is mentioned there at all.

152. MIDDLE KINGDOM (Pl. XLIV A)

E.E.F. copy; no controls. Not found again in 1935. The copy is marked 'door jamb', but no provenance is given. Dimensions 56 × 23 cm. Only: '--- from among the officials ---'.

153. MIDDLE KINGDOM (Pl. XL)

For bibliography see PORTER-MOSS, VII, 359. E.E.F. copy, collated with good E.E.F. and Brussels Museum photographs and with the original at the Exhibition. Now at Brussels E. 2149.

Small roughly cut stela inscribed in a semi-hieratic style. No note of provenance on the copy. Dimensions 24 × 13 cm.

'Year 17. An offering-which-the-king-gives for the ka of Senbmi, true of voice, conceived of Rens^{on}kh, true of voice; Ma,^b true of voice, conceived of Rens^{on}kh, true of voice; the interpreter Senberau,^c possessing honour, conceived of Sitsobk, possessing honour; the serving-woman^d Sonb.'

154. MIDDLE KINGDOM (Pl. XL)

For bibliography see PORTER-MOSS, VII, 359. E.E.F. copy, controlled by the original at the Exhibition (1905). Now at Brussels, E. 2285.


Fragment (20 × 14 cm.) of a round-topped stela; no note of provenance. In the lunette there remains only: '*The great god, with multi-coloured feathers*'^e referring to the winged disk floating in the rounded top and now lost. Below is the sky supported by two *uas*-sceptres, forming a panel. In this the king is represented seated, wearing the cap with the feathers, and carrying the flail over his shoulder. Behind him is an official bearing a fan; his name is given as '*The intendant Amenu, possessing honour*'.

155. MIDDLE KINGDOM (Pl. XLII)

E.E.F. copy, no control. Not found again in 1935. Useless copy of an inscription probably from a large stela. No note of provenance.

The inscription was part of a royal titulary. The only words legible in the copy are '--- beloved of Hathor, lady of the turquoise, the good god ---'.


^a For this official see the note on 81.

^b The first determinative is the hieratic form of .

^c RANKE, p. 313, 13.

B 3488

^d  *wbs(y)t*.

^e Read .

156. MIDDLE KINGDOM (Pl. XLII)

For bibliography see PORTER-MOSS, VII, 359. E.E.F. copy; no controls.

Inscription on the laps and the top of the base of two figures cut in one piece of red sandstone. Now at Brussels, E. 2310.

Right: 'An offering-which-the-king-gives(to) Hathor, lady of the turquoise, for the ka of the -----^a overseer of treasure Nebrawē,^b true of voice, possessing honour.'

Left: 'An offering-which-the-king-gives (to) Hathor, lady of the turquoise, for the ka of the intendant of Djededbau^c Khentekhtay, possessing honour.'

157. MIDDLE KINGDOM (Pl. XLII)

For bibliography see PORTER-MOSS, VII, 365. E.E.F. copy; no controls. Now at Brussels, E. 2148 b. Edge of a stela (?), 32 × 18 cm.; no note of provenance.

'----- quiet of step, knowing^d the place of his foot in ----- Ameny, conceived of Hetep -----
-----'

158. MIDDLE KINGDOM (Pl. XLIV A)

E.E.F. copy; no controls. Not found again in 1935. Two fragments of a stela (?); provenance not stated.

'An offering-which-the-king-gives -----, the great god, living for ever, that he may give offerings of bread and beer, oxen-flesh and fowl, all things good and pure -----.'

159. MIDDLE KINGDOM (Pl. XLIV A)

E.E.F. copy; no controls. Found again in Petrie's camp in 1930 and collated there on 29.3.1935.

Portion of round-topped stela. 51 × 29 cm. No note of provenance.


'----- to me^e the double ----- my deeds (?). Hathor ----- to me success^f in the gallery
----- as^h an offering-which-the-king gives (?) for the ka of (his) father -----
Seruy.ⁱ

160. MIDDLE KINGDOM (Pl. XLVIII)




E.E.F. copy; collated with the original. Portion of a stela, now at University College, London. 21 × 18 cm.

Below is a seated figure smelling a lotus. Above are fragments of inscription: '----- [if you wish to reach home] in safety, may you say: "Thousands of bread and beer, oxen-flesh and fowl -----
----- stone carver cAnkhtify.^j'

^a Read *idnw n imy-r sḏwt*? Cf. Speleers' reading.

^b ? RANKE, p. 183, 23, has, however, only one example of this proper name from the New Kingdom.


^c *Ddd(w)-brw*, which must be an epithet of the king or of a god, is not in *Wb*. Z. Balanda quotes to us Cairo Stela 20391 i and 20023 h.

^d Emend  ; for examples of this epithet see JANSSEN, *Eg. Autobiografie*, I, 74.  for *rḥ* also *Meir*, III, pl. x.

^e De Buck saw a clear  at the beginning of l. 4.

^f Reading *tp nfr* (??).

^g The words following *htt* probably gave the name of the mine.

^h According to de Buck the  before the *htp-dī-nsw* formula was very doubtful.

ⁱ The name seems complete, see RANKE, p. 317, 6 and 7.

^j Probably the same man as in 112.

161. MIDDLE KINGDOM (Pl. XLVIII)

For bibliography see PORTER-MOSS, VII, 365. E.E.F. copy; no controls. Not found again in 1935. Fragment of a large stela. Provenance not given. Remains of a list of names of members of an expedition:

'Domestic of the foremen - - - - -; Domestic of the foremen Ius[onb?]; Domestic of the foremen Meri - - - -; Domestic of the foremen Kek - - - -.'

162. MIDDLE KINGDOM (Pl. XLVIII)

E.E.F. copy; no controls. Not found again in 1935. Fragment of a small stela (17 × 11 cm.). No note of provenance.

Nothing is intelligible save the title *try rt n pr-hd*, 'Petty official of the Treasury' in the last line.

163. MIDDLE KINGDOM (Pl. LI)

For the bibliography see PORTER-MOSS, VII, 359. E.E.F. copy, collated with the original.

Small obelisk of red sandstone (height 52 cm.), now in the B.M., no. 202 [693].

It is inscribed on three sides only. The inscriptions are rather weathered, especially towards the top. ' - - - Iashi (?); his beloved son Kemi; his beloved son Thenem.'

The names are not Egyptian and the determinative of the bearded man carrying two peculiar objects is clearly meant to indicate foreigners, possibly men of Retjenu. For the object carried over the shoulder (axe or halberd?) cf. the men of Retjenu on the west faces of 112 and 115, 405 SE. face, and possibly 100.

164. (Pl. LIV)

Forms part of 116; see the latter.

165. MIDDLE KINGDOM (Pl. LIV)

E.E.F. copy; collated with the original at the Exhibition (1905). Now in Cairo Museum, JE. 38573.

Small portion of a stela (22 × 22 cm.). Provenance not given. The piece preserved contains portions of a *htp-di-nsw* prayer for various persons:

'|³ - - - - - *wēr* (?), conceived of (?)^a *Iunuti*; |⁴ - - - - - *s - - m*, conceived of *Tahedj*; |⁵ - - - - - for the ka of the mistress of the house *Fi*, conceived of *Hēnar*; |⁶ - - - - - mistress of the house *Gemef*,^b conceived of *Hēnar*; |⁷ - - - - - mistress of the house *Iartib*, conceived of *Henut*.'

166. MIDDLE KINGDOM (Pl. LIV)

E.E.F. copy, clearly faulty in places; no means of control. Not found again in 1935.

Inscribed offering table; 55 × 90 cm.

Left: 'An offering-which-the-king-gives (to) Hathor, lady of the turquoise, that she may give offerings of bread and beer, oxen-flesh and fowl, incense - - - - - [to the ka] of the [great] (?) intendant of the Treasury (?) *A[men]y*.'^c

Right: 'An offering-which-the-king-gives (to) Khentekhtay, lord of - - - -,^d that he may give offerings of bread and beer, alabaster and cloth, incense - - - - -.'

^a Read ?

^b Cf. *Gm-s*, RANKE, p. 352, 2.

^c Read probably     . Same man as in 28?

^d One expects *Kmwy*, see 120 N, 122 E.

167. MIDDLE KINGDOM (Pl. LIV)

E.E.F. copy; no controls. Not found again in 1935.


Lower portion of a stela, breadth 27 cm. No note of provenance.


At the bottom the deceased sits before an offering table, smelling a lotus flower. The inscription runs:

'O you who live and are on the earth,^a who shall come to this mining district,^b if you wish your gods to praise you, you should say: "[Thousands] of bread and beer, oxen-flesh and fowl and incense for the ka of Djatiankhu,^c conceived of Itu, possessing honour".'

168. MIDDLE KINGDOM (Pl. LV)

E.E.F. copy, collated with the original at the Exhibition (1905). Now in Cairo JE. 38265.

Roughly inscribed stela, 34 × 25 cm., made out of an older inscribed block. Of the original work only  remains. Provenance not given.

The inscription, many signs of which are in hieratic, begins: ^[1] *The petty official of the Great House Nakht-Hathor, conceived of - - - - - , true of voice.* ^[2] *He says.* Of the following we understand very little. In l. 3 *'the evil inside my body'* seems to be mentioned, in l. 4  *eloquence*, in l. 7 we read *'he who wishes his god to bless him'*.^d The last two lines give names of relatives: l. 9 *'his brother'*, l. 10 *'his sister Nakht'* and *'his mother Nakht'*, but it is difficult to recognize the name of this latter in the obscure group at the end of l. 1.

169. MIDDLE KINGDOM (Pl. LV)

E.E.F. copy, no controls. Collated with the original on 29.3.1935, when it was found lying in Petrie's camp south of Serâbit el-Khâdim. De Buck, who saw it there in 1930, notes that it was deliberately broken and re-used for grinding (?) and had a hole at the back.

Portion of a round-topped stela, 22 × 33 cm. Provenance not given.

'[O you who live and] are upon the earth, who shall come to this foreign land, [if you wish] the king [to praise you], you should say: "Thousands [of] - - - - - office . . . - - ."

170. MIDDLE KINGDOM (Pl. LV)

E.E.F. copy, collated with the original (1905) and with a small E.E.F. photograph. Now in the Metropolitan Museum, New York, 05.4.259 (old number 2984).^e

Round-topped stela of granite, 34 × 22 cm. Provenance not stated.

A male figure is seated on a throne and a smaller male figure stands before him. The seated figure is *'The castellan Ptahsonkh, true of voice, possessing honour, conceived of Ameny'*. The other figure represents *'The petty official Senbebu, true of voice, possessing honour, conceived of Sebekrê'*. Four other persons are mentioned: *'His brother Renfsonkh, his brother - - - - -u, his brother Djaf, his father (?) Senwosret'*.

At the bottom is a horizontal line reading *'That which the petty official, his attendant, made for him, his beloved, Senbebu, possessing honour'*.

^a Emending      .

^b Reading   .

^c For the first part of the proper name see RANKE, p. 405, 17.

^d Compare 502, 510, and 519.

^e Cf. HAYES, *The Scepter of Egypt*, pp. 334-5.

171. AMOSIS I

This reign is not represented at Serâbît by any large monuments. Nevertheless, that the series of expeditions was not interrupted at this time is probable from two finds of small objects which can be connected with the reign:

1. P. R., fig. 144, no. 2. Portion of an alabaster cow now in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, no. 1912.408. See P. R., p. 137.

E.E.F. photograph, compared with the original. Incisions filled with red pigment.

‘[God’s] wife^a and king’s daughter, sister of a great king’s wife, daughter of a great king’s wife, king’s mother, *Ahmes Nefertari, living for ever.*’

2. P. R., fig. 148, no. 3. Part of a glazed menat, inscribed ‘Great ----- *Ahmes Nefertari.*’

171 A. AMENOPHIS I

Apart from the two inscriptions 172 and 173 the reign of Amenophis I is represented at Serâbît by three fragments of small offerings.

These are:

1. A fragment of a glazed composition menat inscribed ‘*The good god Djoserkerêr - -*’. See P. R., p. 142 and fig. 148, no. 1.

2. A fragment in glazed composition of the handle of a sistrum inscribed ‘*The good god, lord of the two lands, Djoserkerêr.*’ See P. R., p. 147 and fig. 151, no. 16.

3. A fragment at Brussels, E. 2095, with the cartouche *Djoserkerêr*, see SPELEERS, *Recueil d’inscriptions égyptiennes*, p. 99, no. 364.

172. AMENOPHIS I (Pl. LVI)

E.E.F. copy, no control. Collated with the original on 1. 4. 1935.

Lintel slab, 54 × 129 cm. found in front of the doorway leading from the Portico to the Hathor Cave. See P. R., pp. 93–94.

‘¹ *The good god, lord of the two lands, Djoserkerêr, son of Rêr of his body Amenhotep, beloved of Hathor, lady of the turquoise, endowed with life.* ² ----- lord of (?) ----- *. Hereditary prince and count, treasurer of the king of Lower Egypt, sole friend, abiding of love in the king’s house, chief treasurer Iamu, possessing honour.*’^b

173. AMENOPHIS I (Pl. LVI)

E.E.F. copy; no controls. Not found again in 1935.

Clearly an inscription from a lintel or architrave. The copy is marked ‘Second sanctuary’, a term which was apparently applied by the excavators to the Portico. This may be the piece of a cornice mentioned P. R., p. 94, and there said to be 19 in. high. As the edges of the block are not indicated in the copy we have no means of judging its height.

‘----- *Son [of Rêr] Amenhotep, beloved of Hathor, lady of the turquoise, living for ever.*’

174. TUTHMOSIS I

This reign is represented at Serâbît only by a number of small objects figured in P. R.:

1. Fig. 144. 3, and p. 137. Two adjoining fragments of an alabaster vase ‘----- *Akheperkerêr, ----- Tuthmosis, endowed with life for ever.*’

^a Restoring [] ; see GAUTHIER, *Le livre des rois*, II, 183–6.

^b Read .

2. Fig. 146. 1, and p. 139. Fragments of a pear-shaped glazed composition vase. '----- *Amūn*, lord of the Throne of the two lands; the good god, *Akheperkerē*, son of *Rē*, Tuthmosis, endowed with life for ever'.

3. Fig. 147. 1, and p. 140. Small fragment of a glazed bowl with the king's cartouche '*Tuthmosis*'.

4-6. Fig. 148. 4, 5, 6, and p. 142. Fragments of three glazed composition menats inscribed respectively '*Meritāmūn*' (daughter of Queen Amosis I and Nefertari), '*King's wife Ahmes, beloved of Hathor, lady of the turquoise*', and '*The good god, Akheperkerē* -----'.

7. Fig. 150. 1, and p. 144. Fragments of a glazed composition wand inscribed with the cartouche '*Akheperkerē*'.

8. A further fragment with the two cartouches of the king is at Brussels E. 2051, see SPELEERS, *Recueil d'inscriptions égyptiennes*, p. 99, no. 367, and another is figured in *Stud. and Doc.* VI, pl. 12, fig. 25.

174 A. TUTHMOSIS II, TUTHMOSIS III, AND HATSHEPSUT

The inscribed minor objects of these reigns are numerous, and the most important are figured in P. R. to which work the references given below relate:

Fig. 146. 2 and 3, p. 139. Two fragments of glazed composition vases, each with the double cartouche of Tuthmosis and Hatshepsut. On 2 we have '*The good god Menkheperre*, ----- the good god *Maakerē* -----'. On 3 we find '*The good god Menkheperre* ----- king of Upper and Lower Egypt *Maakerē* ----- [beloved of] *Hathor, lady of the turquoise*'.

Fig. 148. 7, 9, and 10, p. 142. Portions of glazed composition menats. On the central fragment of 7 (the other fragments do not belong to this) is the name of Neferurē, the daughter of Hatshepsut. No. 9 gives '*The good god, lord of the two lands, Maakerē*', and 10 '*Son of Rē of his body, Tuthmosis* - '.

Fig. 152, 10 and 11, p. 147. Fragments of glazed composition plaques with the head of Hathor. Both bear the cartouche of Menkheperre.

Fig. 154, 2, 3, and 6, p. 148. Glazed composition plaques with figures of animals of the cat family. No. 2 reads '*the good god, lord of the two lands, Menkheperre*'. No. 3 has the cartouche of Menkheperre and no. 6 that of '*Maakerē, (beloved of) Hathor, lady of turquoise*'.

At Brussels there are three fragments with the cartouche Hatshepsut or *Maakerē* E. 2063, 2062, and 715, and one with the cartouches Menkheperre and *Maakerē*, E. 2064, see SPELEERS, *Recueil d'inscriptions égyptiennes*, p. 99, nos. 371, 372, 374, and 373.

Four fragments bear the cartouche or cartouches of Tuthmosis alone, E. 2065, 2066, 1992, and 2090, see SPELEERS, l.c., p. 99, nos. 378, 379, 381, and 382.

One fragment, E. 3091, seems to bear the cartouche of Tuthmosis II, '*Akheperenrē*', see SPELEERS, l.c., p. 99, no. 369.

175. TUTHMOSIS III. YEAR 5 (Pl. LVI)

E.E.F. copy, no controls. Not found again in 1935.

Damaged upper portion of a round-topped stela, breadth 73 cm., marked 'W. of pylon'. This is undoubtedly the more northerly of the two stelae of Tuthmosis stated by P. R., p. 79, to have stood to the west of the pylon. See our Pl. XCII where, however, the numbers 175 and 176 should be transposed.

In the lunette is the date, '*Year 5 under the majesty of*'. Below was a double scene showing the king

before Hathor on either side. Of this there remain only the figure of the goddess on the right, and the titulary '*Tuthmosis, son of Rē, the good god, Menkheperre, beloved of Hathor, lady of the turquoise*'.

176. TUTHMOSIS III. YEAR 5 (Pl. LVII)

For bibliography see PORTER-MOSS, VII, 351. E.E.F. copy left quite untouched. Collated with the original on 13.4.1935, when further parts were missing.

Though there is no note of provenance on the copy there is little doubt that this is the more southerly of the two stelae which stood to the west of the pylon (P. R., p. 79). See Pl. XCII where, however, the numbers 175 and 176 are to be transposed. Breadth of stela 65 cm. Original height given by Petrie as 127 inches.

In the lunette is the date, '*Year 5 under the majesty of*'. Below this was a scene in which presumably the king was represented as making an offering to Hathor on the right and perhaps to some other deity on the left. (There is room for four figures of the size of that of Hathor.) Above the figure of the goddess are the remains of the words '*Beloved of Hathor, lady [of the turquoise]*'. Beneath the scene were nine horizontal lines of inscription, of which nothing remains but the beginnings and ends of the lines. At the beginning the date, '*Year 5*', was repeated and the king's titulary followed in its fullest form. In the last line stood the royal name Tuthmosis. At the bottom of the stela is the remains of an inscription in vertical lines mentioning a '*Treasurer of the king of Lower Egypt and overseer of the great - - - of the king - - -*'.

177. HATSHEPSUT (Pl. LVI)

E.E.F. copy; no controls. Not found again in 1935.

Inscribed block, 58 × 61 cm. The copy is marked '*Piece of cornice W. of pylon*', with an added query '*of door before pylon?*' See Pl. XCII.

On the right the queen holds out a censer to Hathor who stretches an *uas*-sceptre towards the nose of the queen. Hatshepsut's titulary is given as '*King of Upper and Lower Egypt Hatshepsut, living, [son of Rē] Markerē, living, beloved of Hathor, lady of the turquoise*'. Behind the queen are two persons named *Simut* (?) and *Wernefnes*^b respectively.

178. HATSHEPSUT (Pl. LVIII)

E.E.F. copy; no control. Not found again in 1935, though de Buck saw and collated it in 1930.

Inscribed block, 20 × 50 cm. Copy marked '*architrave near 90*'. As 90 was the original number of the stela given by us under 100 this block must have been found in the Old Approach, where this stela stands (Pl. XCII). This provenance is confirmed by de Buck who still saw it '*north of 100*'.

The block contains part of the titulary of Hatshepsut. '*----- "Flourishing in years", golden Horus, "Divine of appearance", king of Upper and Lower Egypt, [Macke]rē - - - -*'.

179. [HATSHEPSUT AND TUTHMOSIS III]. YEAR 11 (Pl. LVIII)

For bibliography see PORTER-MOSS, VII, 361. E.E.F. copy, collated with a good E.E.F. photograph.

Round-topped stela. Provenance not stated. 83 × 31 cm. Now in the Cairo Museum (JE. 38546).

In the central register the Princess Neferurē offers a conical object (white bread?) to Hathor. Behind is Senenmut holding a fan.

^a The copy is correct here.

^b The name is not in RANKE.

'Year 11 under the majesty of the god's wife of Amūn Neferurē, a living for ever' and 'stability and dominion like Rē'. In front of the goddess is 'Beloved of Hathor, lady of the turquoise' and over the male figure 'Her (?) steward Sen(en)mut'.

Of the main inscription below little remains. '----- house of Amūn, the steward -----
----- Amūn (?) ----- [Amen]emḥab (?) ----- house of Mut, the father of the
god (?) -----'.

180. TUTHMOSIS III. YEAR 13 (Pl. LXI)

E.E.F. copies, collated with E.E.F. photographs in the case of the faces. Collated with the original on 11.4.1935, but no note made of its position.

Round-topped stela, no note of provenance. Inscribed on both faces and both edges.

East face. Breadth 45 cm.

The king offers a loaf of white bread to Amonrē. In the lunette is the date, 'Year 13 under the majesty of', and the inscription continues below, 'The good god Menkheperkerē, endowed with life, stability and dominion like Rē eternally, beloved of Amon-Rē, lord of the Thrones of the two lands. The presenting^b of a white bread, that he may make "given-life."' Below this was a further scene with a of Hathor 'Lady [of the turquoise]', to whom perhaps Hatshepsut was shown as offering.

West face. Breadth 42 cm.

'¹ Year 13 under the majesty of ² the Horus "Strong bull rising in Thebes", the two goddesses "Abiding of kingdom" ----- ³ his might brings ----- ⁴ he who is over the hearts of the land (?) ----- ⁵ to the might of the king Rē ----- ⁶ ----- king of Upper and Lower Egypt, lord of the two lands, lord of initiative Menkhepererē ----- [on the throne] ⁷ of Horus of all the living, like Rē eternally [and for ever].'

North edge. Breadth 24 cm.

'¹ An offering-which-the-king-gives, the beloved of Amonrē, lord of the Thrones of the two lands, Markerē ----- ² An offering-which-the-king-gives, the beloved of Hathor, lady of the turquoise, and Hathor ----- ³ An offering which-the-king-gives, the beloved of Edjō, [lady of] turquoise, -----'.

South edge. Breadth 23 cm.

'who followed his lord in his steps in the country -----'.

181. HATSEPSUT AND TUTHMOSIS III. YEAR 20 (Pl. LVII)

E.E.F. copy collated with E.E.F. photograph. Top and centre collated in 1935; the rest was lost.

Round-topped stela, 148×62 cm. An E.E.F. photograph shows it lying in the Sanctuary in front of 114; de Buck saw it in 1930 'in front of small cave', consequently in the Hall of Sopdu (V).

Above is the usual winged disk, below it on the right Hatshepsut as king offers white bread to

^a For this princess, a daughter of Hatshepsut, see PETRIE, *History of Egypt*, II, 78; BREASTED, *History of Egypt*, p. 272; for her monuments see GAUTHIER, *Le livre des rois*, II, 250-2. Senenmut is also mentioned as her tutor on the Berlin

statue 2296 (see *Urk.* IV, 403-6), and as her great steward op. cit. IV, 396. For his brother Senmen, also steward and tutor to Neferurē, see op. cit. IV, 418.

^b Lit. 'striking'.

Anḥur-Show, and, on the left, Tuthmosis III presents wine to Hathor, lady of the turquoise.
Date: 'Year 20'.

Legends accompanying cult scenes:

On right: 'The good god *Ma'kerē*, endowed with life eternally, beloved of *Anhur-Show*, son of *Rē*.'^a

On left: 'The good god Menkheperēr, endowed with life, beloved of Hathor, lady of the turquoise. Giving libation^b that he may make "given-life".'

Below the scene are eleven horizontal lines of inscription, of which the last three are shortened on the left to admit a standing figure of Nakht.

¹ 'The scribe Nakht,' he says: I followed the good god, for the lord of the two lands knew that I was excellent,² ³ I walking on the road^a and being honoured on account of it (?), the officials of the palace^b ⁴ bending the arm before me. The Horus himself sent me to^c do ⁵ what his spirit desired.^b He promoted (?)ⁱ me and I was foremost among millions of men, having been sought ⁶ among hundreds of thousands of men. He appointed me¹ royal envoy, I being exalted [before]^k the (other) ⁷ courtiers,¹ for Hathor, lady of the turquoise, showed me her favour for all that I had done ⁸ [in propitiating the lady] of the turquoise every day. Amount of the offerings of every day: bit-bread - - - - ⁹ 350, white bread 320, beer 360, wine 30, ro-geese 60, - - - - - ¹⁰ water 100, for I went down to the coast successfully. ¹¹ None other peer of mine equalled me of any who had come to ¹² this [foreign country],^m I being the favourite of Hathor, (lady of) the turquoise.'

182. [HATSHEPSUT] (Pl. LVI)

E.E.F. copy; no controls. Not found again in 1935.

Inscription (181 × 40 cm.) from the north wall of the Hall of Sopdu; see P. R., p. 89. The text bears a close resemblance to that of **200** (Tuthmosis III), from which it can, in parts, be restored. The copy is very inaccurate and defective, and unfortunately we have no photograph, as we have in the case of **200**, by which to correct and complete it.

^[1] - - - - - Her majesty [commanded] to be made the fitting out of an expedition,^a stone cutters, ship's crews^o and overseers of works as [managers]^p - - - - - ^[2] - - - - - lady of the turquoise (??),¹ mistress of the gods, in order to make beautiful monuments^t to Father Amūn in Opetisut - - - - - ^[3] - - - - - consisting of altar stones, silver, gold, heaps (?)^s - - - - - the best of every noble thing^t which her majesty loves - - - - - ^[4] - - - - - daily,^u bread and beer, oxen-flesh and fowl, incense, white bread (?), wine - - - - - ^[5] - - - - - She - - - - - this mountain in order that she might reveal for her all its hidden things^w [which it had not shown to other kings]

^a Note that the epithets are in the masculine.

^b *kbh*, see 196 and 198.

^c For this official see 183, 184, 191, and 257.

d *ikr.i.*




^e Read determinative from photograph. Doubtful.

^t *Srew* [ʃh].

⁸ inserted from photograph. Hardly doubtful.

^h *mrvt* inserted from photograph.

¹ Signs beneath 𠩺 illegible in photograph. Read 𠩺 𠩺, but since this verb is otherwise attested transitively only since XXIIInd Dynasty (*Wb.* II, 86, 12) emend into *smrh*.

¹ Read, of course,   for .

^k r hst.

¹  at beginning of line from photograph. Clear.

m *hist.*

ⁿ Read from 200.

P Restore

^a Space too long for $\overline{\square}$ as in 200.

A row of 12 small, stylized pictographs. From left to right, they represent: a fish, a comb or a row of teeth, a cross-like symbol, a bird, a house or building, a person, a semi-circle, a person, a person, a person, a person, and a person.

^s Contraction for (? , compare 275, edge) or

11. *'bronze'?*

^u Clearly 

^v *T-hd?*

----- [and which it had concealed] from every king, for this true love^a ----- |⁶ ----- [My forces arrived] in safety, there was no^b loss among them; they brought away every good product of [this] foreign land, turquoise [in great quantity], lapis lazuli [of Asia], malachite, green felspar, copper (?),^c in abundance, ----- |⁷ ----- more than (?) all the wonders of this foreign land which her majesty trod (?) ----- Amūn, lord of the Thrones of the two lands ----- command ----- |⁸ ----- on the throne of Horus, her heart being glad, together with her ka. She rules this land like him who made her,^d like Rē, for ever and eternity -----.

183. [HATSHEPSUT] (Pl. LVIII)

E.E.F. copy; no controls. Not found again in 1935.

Scene with inscriptions from a wall. The copy is marked 'Sopdu sanctuary west wall', and there is no room for doubt that these are the 'figures of officials drawn in red but not yet sculptured' described by P. R., p. 89, as being on the west wall of the Hall of Sopdu, south of the door. See Pl. XCII.

Of the inscriptions nothing remains save the titles and name of the official on the left in the upper row, who is 'scribe who holds the fan of his majesty,^e Nakht'. For other work by this scribe see 181, 184, 191, and 257.

184. HATSHEPSUT AND TUTHMOSIS III (Pl. LVIII)

E.E.F. copies, no controls. Collated with the original on 8.4.1935.

Inscriptions from the two pillars in the Hall of Sopdu, see P. R., p. 89, and our Pl. XCII. Both are probably inscribed by the scribe Nakht,^f the northern bearing the name of Hatshepsut and the southern that of Tuthmosis III.

North pillar

On the north side was the titulary of '----- Hatshepsut Khnemt-amūn,^g endowed with life, prosperity and dominion, like Rē, eternally'. The south side shows a standing figure, doubtless that of Nakht, but the inscription is illegible except for '----- so that they may give offerings of bread, beer and oxen-flesh'. There are no copies of the two remaining sides. Since no note was made in 1935 in this respect, they are probably uninscribed.

South pillar


South side. This bears the titulary of Tuthmosis III '----- the good god, lord of the two lands, lord of initiative, Menkheperre, son of Rē of his body, Tuthmosis, eternally (sic)'.


North side. In the upper register are the legs of a moving figure. In the lower stands Nakht, and before him is the inscription: '|¹ An offering-which-the-king-gives (to) Hathor, lady of the turquoise, and (to) Sopdu with the tall feathers, that they may give offerings |² of bread and beer, flesh and fowl,

^a  or perhaps , compare


200.

^b .

^c Restore .

 For *šmt* see commentary on 121; for *nšmt*, note on 200.

^d Masc. pronoun  used here.

^e Read [*hbs*] *bht*, see *Wb.* I, 467, 6, adding *P. Anastasi* IV, 16, 5 and *BIFAO* 27, 188 (where the reading is  and 194.

^f For this man see 181, 183, 191, and 257.

^g The interior of the cartouche was too weathered in 1935 to admit of verification.

every good and pure thing for the ka of the royal envoy at the head of the armies, the scribe Na |³ kht, of Tjiny,^a repeating life.'

West side. The upper register has practically perished. Below stands Nakht, and above and before him is the following inscription: '|¹ ----- adoration to the height of heaven |² ----- [the scribe who holds] the fan^b of his majesty, Nakht, of Tjiny |³ -----, lady of heaven, mistress of gods, my praise being established^c in the house of (my) lord, |⁴ L.P.H., ----- |⁵ servants ----- every day |⁶ to the ka [of] - - - |⁷ - - - [Nakht], repeating life.' 'His mother Ta - - - ui,^d repeating life.'

East side. Two female figures embracing, doubtless Hathor and Hatshepsut.

185. TUTHMOSIS III

In P. R., pp. 88-89, is described a sphinx of Tuthmosis III which stood along the north part of the west wall of the Approach to Sopdu, the head facing south. The position is indicated on Petrie's rough plan, and is immediately to the south of the letters *ab* in our plan, Pl. XCII. No copy of the inscription appears to have been made. '----- fragments of a fellow were found, which doubtless had been on the opposite side of the doorway to the Hathor shrine'. No sign of either sphinx was seen again in 1935.

186. HATSHEPSUT AND TUTHMOSIS III (Pl. LX)

E.E.F. copy. Not found again in 1935. Probably part of a lintel, marked 'hanafiyah', and therefore presumably found in the Hathor Ḥanafiyah. 30 × 70 cm.

The inscription is remarkably interesting in that it gives a compound titulary of the two sovereigns, 'King of Upper and Lower Egypt Mackerē, son of Rē Tuthmosis, endowed with [life] - - -'.

187. HATSHEPSUT (?) (Pl. LVII)

E.E.F. copy; no controls. Collated with the original on 14.4.1935.

Part of a block, 19 × 51 cm., presumably from a wall. The copy is marked 'Hats.' and 'S. wall, scrap'. 'Horus, strong of kas' is the Horus name of Hatshepsut, and it may be, therefore, that the block comes from some room in the temple which was built or decorated by the queen. The Hathor Ḥanafiyah is a possible provenance, though it transpires that 108, which was labelled 'Hats. on E. wall', comes from the Shrine of Kings.

188. TUTHMOSIS III (Pl. LX)

For bibliography see PORTER-MOSS, VII, 353. E.E.F. copy, controlled by E.E.F. photograph. Only the right-hand top corner was found again in 1935.

Large inscribed block from the east side of the Hathor Ḥanafiyah, see P. R., p. 105 and fig. 110. Also our Pl. XCII. Dimensions 45 × 103 cm.

The king Tuthmosis evidently stood on the right, facing the ram-headed Khnūm (or Harsaphes) and Hathor. In front of the figure of Khnūm are the words '[Welcome to] me, my beloved son, Menkheperrē; [behold, I am bringing to] thee Hathor, lady of the turquoise, that we may invest thy

^a The town of This, near Abydos. For this and similar indications of origin see GRAPOW, *ZAS* 73, 44 ff.

^b For the title see 183 and note thereon.

^c Reading, very doubtfully, .

^d Reading uncertain, compare 191, NE. pillar, N. face.

^e .

nose with life and dominion, like Rē, eternally'. In front of Hathor we read, 'Said by Hathor, lady of the turquoise: Welcome to [me], my beloved son; our land is exceeding happy while thou art living for ever.'

189. TUTHMOSIS III (Pl. LIX)

E.E.F. copy controlled by E.E.F. photograph, which, unfortunately, does not contain the bottom line of the inscription. Not found again in 1935. 116 × 130 cm.

Block from a wall in the Hathor Hanafiyah, visible in P. R., fig. 101. Cf. our Pl. XCII.

The two figures, Tuthmosis and Hathor, clearly belong to two separate scenes. The king offers to a deity (now lost) on the left, and the goddess receives an offering from another figure of Tuthmosis (or possibly Hatshepsut) on the right. Of the king's titulary only 'Tuthmosis, endowed with life' remains. Below this is '----- for the ka of the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Menkheperēr, endowed with life eternally'. The king's offering is described as 'Giving libations that (he) may make "given life"'. Behind him are the words 'All [protection] of life behind him like Rē, eternally'.

Of the inscriptions describing the scene on the right only 'beloved of [Hathor, lady of the turquoise] remains.

The inaccurately copied line of inscription below refers clearly to the dedicator of the scene (possibly Nakht; cf. 181, 183, 184, and 191). Only '----- the king in the course of every day ----- sun-disk in the morning (?)^a [keen] of sight^b in front of -----' is intelligible.

190. [TUTHMOSIS III] (Pl. LIX)

E.E.F. copy. Wall scenes and inscriptions, provenance not given. Not found again in 1935.

The scene (a) showed a king offering to a goddess, probably Hathor. With this are probably to be connected two fragments, one, (b), showing part of a king making an offering and marked 'Part to E. of S. wall of hanafiyeh near 180', the other showing the end of a cartouche ending in -----ka, and marked 'Rolled with E. of S. wall of Hanafiyeh, near 180'.

As 180 was the expedition number for 190 (a) it is possible that all three fragments come from the Hathor Hanafiyah, perhaps from the south wall. The cartouche may well have been that of Hatshepsut (Ma'kerē) or Tuthmosis III (Menkheperkerē).

191. TUTHMOSIS III (Pl. LXII)

For bibliography see PORTER-MOSS, VII, 353.

E.E.F. copies. These have been left quite untouched, though some errors could doubtless have been corrected from good photographs. The negatives of P. R., figs. 100 and 111, appear to be lost, and the half-tones in the volume do not give accurate enough detail for the control of the copies. Not found again in 1935.

Scenes with inscriptions from the north-east and north-west Hathor columns in the Hathor Hanafiyah; see P. R., p. 86. There is considerable similarity between these scenes and those inscribed by the same Nakht^c on the columns of the Hall of Sopdu (184).

North-east pillar

East face. In the upper register the 'Good god Menkheperēr, son of Rē [Tuthmosis], endowed with life -----' offers incense (vase wrongly drawn in copy, see P. R., fig. 111) to a deity who possibly

^a   ?

^b  .

^c For this man cf. 181, 183, 184, and 257.

was shown in the upper register of the adjoining south face. The scene is described as 'Offering of incense that he may make "given life"'. Behind the king is 'All protection of life behind him like Rē eternally'. Below is the figure of the lion-headed goddess 'Mehyt, mistress of - - - - -'. The inscription runs 'Mehyt who dwells in Tjiny,^a may she give [life, prosperity and health] to the ka of the scribe of the register of cattle^b Nakht, [repeating] life'.

West face. 'The good god, Menkheperēr, - - - - -, endowed with life like Rē eternally' offers a vase of water. The words describing the scene are hopeless in the copy,^c only the ending 'that he may make "given-life"' being intelligible. Behind the king is '[All] protection of life [behind him like Rē eternally]'.

North face. In the upper register was a figure of the king running, which has almost entirely disappeared. In front of his leg is written 'Hathor, lady of the turquoise' and behind him '[All] protection of life behind him like Rē eternally'. Below is a figure of the scribe Nakht, and an inscription which runs '|¹ An offering-which-the-king-gives (to) Amon-Rē, lord of the Thrones of the two lands, - - - - - [for] |² the ka of the scribe of the register of cattle Nakht - - - - -, |³ son of the wēreb-priest of Anhūr, Tunna; his mother Tawi (?)^d - - - - -'.

South face. '[Hathor], lady of the turquoise' embraces a figure, which, to judge by the costume, should be that of a queen,^e but which, if the cartouche above is correctly copied, is that of 'The good god, lord of the two lands, Menkheperēr, living like Rē (?)'.

North-west pillar

The copy is marked as coming from the 'base of a Hathor column', and the right-hand edge of the inscription is in effect visible in P. R., fig. 111, just behind the large column in the right foreground. Thus, it is from the stump of the north-west pillar; see P. R., p. 86.

'- - - - |¹ - - - - - |² - - - - -, one who spoke with his mouth and acted with his hands - - - - |³ - - - - every - - - - -, the praised one of the lady of the turquoise, the beloved - - - - |⁴ - - - on account of his excellence, the scribe Nakht, repeating life, possessing honour'.


192. TUTHMOSIS III (Pl. LX)


For bibliography see PORTER-MOSS, VII, 353. The reconstruction in WEILL, *Recueil*, no. 89, is faulty. E.E.F. copies; no controls. Not found again in 1935.

The copies are marked as coming from door-jambs and a lintel in the Hathor Ḥanafiyah. An unpublished photograph of stela 103, which shows the top of the lower fragment of the left jamb immediately to the right of the west face of the stela, proves that we have to deal with the eastern doorway and its west face. See Pl. XCII.

On the lintel is the winged disk representing 'The great god, the Behdetite' and part of the titulary of Tuthmosis III: 'Son of Rē Menkheperēr, son of Rē Tuthmosis, living eternally'. On the left jamb we read, 'The good god, lord of the two lands, lord of initiative, Menkheperēr - - -, beloved of Hathor, (lady of) the turquoise'. On the right is '[King of Upper and Lower Egypt], lord of the two lands, lord of initiative, Thutmosis-nefer-[kheperu] - - -.'

^a Tjiny (This) was Nakht's native town, see 184.

^b Read  (?) Cf. N. face.

^c The only suggestion we can offer is  'Presentation of nmst-pot', with inversion in the direction of the signs

of *hr nms(t)*, as often in these legends.

^d Cf. 184, S. pillar, W. side.

^e The analogy of 184 leads one to expect Hatshepsut to be found associated with Tuthmosis III on these columns.

193. TUTHMOSIS III

From WEILL, *Recueil*, no. 87. No E.E.F. copy available. Not found again in 1935.

Under no. 87 Weill reproduces a sketch by Palmer marked 'Doorway'. Weill himself suggests that this is a scene from another part of the pylon (see our 194, from the southern half). But this can scarcely be maintained in view of Petrie's statement (P. R., p. 79) that the 'northern half is so much ruined that nothing can be traced of its sculptures'. It is hardly possible that a scene of which Palmer was able to trace so much could have virtually disappeared in 1905. In any case we should expect on the northern half of the pylon a scene balancing more perfectly than this does the scene on the south half (194).

It is therefore probable that this comes from some other part of the temple, and we may suggest the Hathor Hanafiyah, as a room where Tuthmosis III showed considerable activity. The scene shows the king offering to some deity. Above and around him portions of his titulary can be made out, but the copy is obviously too inaccurate to merit an attempt at reconstruction.

194. TUTHMOSIS III (Pl. LXIII)

For bibliography see PORTER-MOSS, VII, 351.

E.E.F. copy, collated with and added to from an E.E.F. photograph and a Survey photograph, the latter taken when the pylon was in much better condition than it now is, but failing to show the later additions on the right. Nothing of the pylon was found again in 1935.

The scene and inscriptions are from the outer face of the south half of the pylon, see P. R., pp. 79-80 and fig. 96. High up on the pylon is the full protocol of Tuthmosis: '[Life to] Horus, "[Strong] bull, rising in Thebes"; two goddesses "Abiding of kingdom like Rē in heaven"; golden Horus "Mighty of valour, holy of appearances"; a king of Upper and Lower Egypt Menkheperre, king of kings - - - - -'.

The scene is enclosed in a rectangular frame whose top is formed by the sky sign. On the left is Hathor, to whom the king in the centre offers two small vases. He is described as 'The good god, lord [of the two lands], lord [of might, king of Upper and Lower Egypt] Menkheper[rē], son of Rē - - - - - endowed with life like Rē - - - - -, beloved of Hathor, lady of the turquoise, mistress of - - - - -'. Behind the king follow two officials, 'The hereditary prince and count, - - - - -, sole friend, chief treasurer, Sennufer, repeating life', and 'The great [steward]^b of the king, Kenena'.


The pylon was usurped at least twice. To the first of these usurpations should probably be referred the larger figures in the lower part of the plate with the three vertical lines of inscription on the right '1 King's son, great overseer of [troops] (?),^c 2 Userre - - - - - 3 king of Upper and Lower Egypt, [smiting (?)] the nine bows, lord of the two lands - - - - -'. These contain doubtless the name and titles of the person who offers to Hathor (?) in the lower right-hand corner. Of the figure of the goddess only part of the body and an arm and portion of a sceptre remain, with the words 'I am giving thee'. The signs 𓆎 in l. 2 of the vertical inscription suggest that this scene should be dated to the reign of Userkheperurē, Sethos II, and this is clearly confirmed by the occurrence of this king's cartouche^d 'Sety-Meryptah' and '[Userkheperurē-Setep]en[rē]-Meriamūn' before the knees of King Tuthmosis. The portion of the scene to which these signs referred is quite invisible and leads

^a Read 𓆎 𓆎 𓆎.

^b Read 𓆎 𓆎 𓆎.

^c Read 𓆎 𓆎 ?

^d WEILL, *Recueil*, no. 86, gives these cartouches complete. As both are shown to be incorrect in the portions visible in the photographs his restoration (if such it be) should be regarded with suspicion.

us to conjecture that Sethos II did not touch the main scene of Tuthmosis except to appropriate it to himself by engraving his cartouches in front of the royal figure. The signs  between the legs of Tuthmosis probably belong to the half-erased figure just below them to the right.

To a still later modification we may perhaps attribute the smaller figures apparently superimposed over that just referred to, and the still smaller one towards the right-hand bottom corner of the plate. This is accompanied by an inscription, '*Made by the scribe of the Treasury* - - - - -'.

It will be easily recognized that any attempt to reconstruct the history of the pylon from its superimposed scenes and inscriptions is impossible without an examination of the original. Any statements made here in this connexion are, when not backed by the evidence of the inscriptions, merely tentative.

For Sennûfer, a famous official under Hatshepsut and Tuthmosis III, see *Urk.* IV, 528 ff. His tomb is no. 99 at Sheikh Abd el-Gurnah (GARDINER and WEIGALL, *A Topographical Catalogue of the Private Tombs of Thebes*, p. 24; PORTER-MOSS, I, 128).

195. TUTHMOSIS III

WEILL, *Recueil*, no. 93 (? see below). No E.E.F. copies. Not seen in 1935.

Under no. 93 Weill reproduces sketches by Burton (*Drawings and Tracings*, &c., B.M. MS. no. 25629, 61 [lower right]) after Bonomi, marked 'relievo Door post'. Now in P. R., p. 80, we read, 'The doorway through the pylon bears figures of Tahutmes III and Hathor in relief on the sides of it; these are the only relief sculptures in the temple'. In view of the last remark it is highly probable that the inscriptions copied by Bonomi belong to these scenes. They run as follows:

'*King of Upper and Lower Egypt, lord of the two lands Menkhepererrê*', '- - - lord of the two lands, *Menkhepererrê*, [beloved of] *Hathor, lady of the turquoise*.' The inscriptions are doubtless from either side of the doorway.

196. TUTHMOSIS III. YEAR 25 (Pl. LXIV)

For bibliography see PORTER-MOSS, VII, 351. E.E.F. copy collated with B.M. squeeze. Collated with the original lying south of 92, on 15.4.1935, except for the upper part and left-hand border of the bottom part which were then broken off and could not be found.

Round-topped stela apparently inscribed on one face only, found in Room N (P. R., p. 81). 189 × 68 cm.

In the lunette is the winged disk and beneath it the date, '*Year 25 under the majesty of*'. Below this again is a scene in which the king Tuthmosis III offers two small vases of water to Hathor. Behind the king is a figure bearing a censer and described as '*The hereditary prince and count, treasurer of the king of Lower Egypt, sole friend, chief treasurer Tey*'. Over and behind the goddess are the words '*Hathor, lady of the turquoise. Speech: "I am giving thee all life and dominion, all stability and all health like Rê eternally"*'. Above the king are the mutilated titles '[*King of Upper and Lower Egypt Men*]kheper[rê], *endowed with all life, all stability and dominion, son of* Rê, *Tuthmosis, beautiful of appearances, endowed with life eternally*'. Behind the king is '*All protection of life behind him like Rê*', and before him is '*The giving of a libation of cold water that he may make "given-life"*'.

Eight horizontal lines of inscription succeed, reading as follows:

[¹ '*Life to Horus "Strong bull, appearing in Thebes", the two ladies "Enduring of kingship like Rê in heaven", Horus-of-gold, "Powerful of strength, holy of appearances",* [² king of Upper and Lower Egypt, *Menkhepererrê, the good god, lord of joy, lord of appearances, seizing the "beautiful crown"* (i.e. of

Upper Egypt), assuming the Sekhemtey-crowns |³ in life and dominion, image of Rē, descendant^a of his, whom he caused to rule the two lands, son of the white crown, |⁴ born of the red crown, foster-child of the twain great-of-magic, beneficent seed of Atum, |⁵ precious egg of Khopri, dignitary of Maet, when he was yet in |⁶ the womb; to whom are given the Black land and Red land, in whose grasp are Upper and Lower Egypt, |⁷ whose might is in heaven and whose fear is throughout earth, whose dread is throughout every foreign country, king |⁸ of kings, ruler of rulers, sun of all lands, son of Rē, "Tuthmosis-beautiful-of-forms", beloved of Hathor, lady of the turquoise.'

In the space beneath this, on the left, is a standing figure with two apparently roughly cut signs just below his right hand giving the name Userhētmes^b and, on the right, eight vertical lines of inscription, the last four of which have suffered considerably and are very difficult to decipher both from the squeeze and from the original.

'|⁹ True royal acquaintance, his beloved, whom he favoured among (his) subjects, whom he chose out from among millions of men, who filled his heart |¹⁰ more than the two banks, having placed him at the head of his soldiers, so as to bring what his majesty desired of the produce |¹¹ of the divine lands, turquoise of quantity untold. He pursued the path of his benefactor and surpassed |¹² that which was commanded to him. That which happened is what his majesty decreed.^c Hathor the Great^d granted^e it to the might of his majesty, the wells |¹³ being like the water pools^f in the inundation, the hills leading to^g that which was in them. Tatjenen gave what was in |¹⁴ him - - - - - happened by^h the might of his majesty, inasmuch as |¹⁵ his mother Hathor loved him more than any king there had been since the earliest time [of the land. Made] at the instanceⁱ of the royal envoy, overseer of every river mouth belonging to |¹⁶ the sea, the scribe of the nurses(?) of the whole land (?),^j treasurer of the king of Lower Egypt, sole friend, the judge Si-Month, repeating life, possessing honour.'

197. TUTHMOSIS III

No copy available.

In P. R., p. 81, we read in the description of Chamber O: 'A great lintel-beam remains here, near the west door; . . . It was originally cut by Tahutmes III with fine, thin hieroglyphs; but later, Ramessu IV re-inscribed it in coarse, large signs.'

Under 286 and 316 will be found the evidence for and against the identification of this lintel with 316. Here we need only say that, if the identification be correct, there is no internal evidence for assigning the earlier inscription to Tuthmosis III. If it be not correct it follows that the lintel described in P. R., p. 81, was not copied by the expedition. Nothing of the kind was seen in 1935.

198. TUTHMOSIS III. YEAR 27 (Pl. LXIV)

For bibliography see PORTER-MOSS, VII, 353. West face from E.E.F. copy, controlled and added to from E.E.F. and Survey photographs. The top of the east face from a hand-copy.



Round-topped stela, 72 cm. broad and 28 cm. thick. The Survey photograph shows the upper part of the west face to be blank, from which we may conjecture that it was an older stela appro-




^a *Mstiw*, cf. *Wb.* II, 151, 10.

^b Not on the plate. De Buck read , i.e. *Wsrhrt-ms*.


^c *St* , not . See commentary on 136 for the passage.

^d  seems highly probable. Not as Sethe.


^e  instead of ; for  see II. 10 and 13.

^f   seems to us very probable; the following  stands

for .

^g  seems the most possible reading.

^h  short but certain.

ⁱ The two small traces under  are probably only accidental breaks in the stone.

^j Read       ?

priated and reinscribed by Tuthmosis III. Its position in the east wall of the Hathor Ḥanaftiyah, south of the doorway, is shown in Pl. XCII. See P. R., p. 105 and figs. 110 and 123. It was lying in the Court in 1935. The north and south edges are blank according to de Buck's note.

*West face (not collated in 1935)**

In the rectangular space below the winged disk Tuthmosis III, wearing the 'blue' crown, offers two small vases of water to Hathor, who is seated on the left. The inscription reads, 'Year 27; the good god, lord [of the two lands] Menkheperre, endowed with life, ----- Tuthmosis, beloved of Hathor, lady of the turquoise' and the scene is described as 'Giving libations of cold water that (he) may make "given-life"'.^a

Below is an inscription in 13 horizontal lines, after which again was another scene, almost completely defaced, showing Hathor on the left.

'¹ Life to Horus, "Strong bull, beloved of Rē"; twin-goddesses, "Great of might in all lands"; golden-Horus, "Great of valour, smiting the nine bows"; ² king of Upper and Lower Egypt Menkheperre-Setepenre; sole name in [the memory (?)^b -----], without peer, mighty king ³ of whom men are proud, unique of might, whose ----- are exalted, placing his fear among the nine bows, whose ⁴ terror has bound the foreign countries, [of whom men] boast ----- the victorious mellay (??), ⁵ whose arm is firm on the yoke of horses, the peer of the lord of Thebes ----- until he arrives on the chariot; ⁶ whose bow is in the east, who destroys the foreign countries, on whose arms is the might of the son of ⁷ Nut, ----- [grasping] the locks of the chiefs of the hill country like ⁸ Semseru;^d who has placed his might (?) among his enemies, mighty ⁹ ----- millions in ¹⁰ his heart, king of Upper Egypt, bull abiding of heart ----- ¹¹ ----- entering ----- on the battlefield ----- ¹² on t[heir] blood ----- ¹³ ----- on them.'

East face

Only the top is preserved showing in the lunette the date: 'Year 13 (under) the majesty of.' Under this is the winged disk; the figure of Hathor is on the left and that of Ptah in his shrine on the right. The figures of the king, which stood in the centre facing the two deities, have disappeared. All this is probably the original XIIth Dynasty decoration.

199. TUTHMOSIS III (Pl. LXV)

E.E.F. copy; no controls. Collated with the original on 14.4.1935.

Remains of a round-topped stela; no note of provenance. In 1935 it was found lying south of 115. 58 × 58 cm.

Face A

Above, the winged disk with two uraei enclosing the cartouche of Menkheperre. Below this the king, wearing the blue crown, offers two small vases to Hathor. The scene is entitled 'The giving of a libation of cold water -----'. Above the king is 'The good god, lord of the two lands, Menkheperre, living eternally like Rē daily'. Behind him is 'A protection of life, dominion and health

^a The top of the W. face was probably almost as much weathered in the time of Tuthmosis III as it was when the Survey's photograph was taken and its rough surface was not suitable for an inscription.

^b *Sh?*

^c  [-----].

^d On *Smsrw* see GARDINER, *JEA* 29, 75-76.

201. TUTHMOSIS III (Pl. LXV A)

E.E.F. copy; no controls. Not found again in 1935. 41×58 cm.

Judging from its appearance this fragment must be part of a lintel. It is tempting to identify it with that mentioned in P. R., p. 79, as having been found over the doorway leading from Chamber L to Chamber M. Unfortunately the measurements do not agree, the height of the latter being given as 23 in., and that of our fragment being, if the edges of the stone are correctly indicated, only 16 in.

The fragment forms the left half of the lintel. Above was the sky sign and under it, in the centre, the winged disk, representing, as the inscription tells us, '*Behdetite, the great god, lord of heaven*'. In the lower line was part of the titulary of Tuthmosis III, of which there remains only '- - - - lord of the two lands, *Menkheperre*, endowed with life'.

202. TUTHMOSIS III (Pl. LXII)

E.E.F. copy; no controls. Not found again in 1935.

Lintel block, 26×131 cm. Copy marked 'E. of pylon'.

In the centre is a conventionalized figure of Hathor in the form of a sistrum holding out an ♀ in one hand and an object, now erased, in the other. On either side of her is a sphinx representing the king. The cartouches read '*Tuthmosis, Menkheperre*'. On the right of this scene is the top of another cartouche of *Men[kheper]re*, and on the left an uraeus wearing the horned sun disk.

203. TUTHMOSIS III (Pl. LXV A)

E.E.F. copies; no controls. Only fragment (a) was found again in 1935.

Fragment (a). 20×73 cm. Upper part of a scene in which King [*Me*]*nkheper[rer]* was shown worshipping '*Edjō, lady of - - -*', who is, curiously enough, depicted with the lion's head surmounted by the disk. Rather confused traces follow in the drawing, perhaps the head-dress of another deity. In 1935 this scene was found to be on the east face (according to de Buck, west face) of the upper part of an older stela now lying in the Court.

Fragment (b). 24×58 cm. Fragment from a scene showing the king '*Tuthmosis Menkheperre* (? or *Menkheperur*)' wearing the double crown. Provenance not given on the E.E.F. copy. Might it perhaps be one of the 'pieces of sculpture of Tahutmes III' which Petrie (P. R., p. 90) says were found in the foundation of the Sanctuary wall?

204. TUTHMOSIS [III] (Pl. LXII)

E.E.F. copy; no controls. Not found again in 1935.

Part of a block, 25×78 cm., marked 'Under sill of Rameses IV chapel'. It is impossible to say what room is meant by this. The Porch and the Sanctuary are the two parts of the temple which show most work by Ramesses IV.

Head of the king with the *atef* crown. Behind it '*A protection of life - - - - -*'. Before him the cartouche of a Tuthmosis.

205. AMENOPHIS II

Only four small inscribed objects of this king have been found in the temple (see P. R., p. 149), one being a fragment of a vase and the other three glazed menats. One of the latter is shown P. R.,

fig. 148, no. 8, and in the legend is ascribed to Tuthmosis IV, an error which is corrected on the opposite page, 142. The inscription reads, '*The good god, 'Akheperurē, [beloved of] Hathor, lady of the turquoise*'.

A fragment with the inscription '*The good god 'Akheperurē*' is at Brussels, E. 1993, see SPELEERS, *Recueil d'inscriptions égyptiennes*, p. 99, no. 370.

206. AMENOPHIS II (Pl. LX)

For bibliography see PORTER-MOSS, VII, 351. E.E.F. copies, controlled in the case of (c) only by Survey photograph, *Survey*, III, pls. 8 and 9. Not found again in 1935.

Inscriptions from Hathor pillars in Chamber K. See P. R., pp. 79 and 107.

Fragment (a). This, according to Palmer, is from one of the sides of the pillar from the face of which comes (c). It shows '*The good god 'Akheperurē, son of Rē, Amenhotep, the divine ruler of Ōn*' in the blue crown, offering two small vases. The scene is described as '*Making an offering that he may make "given praise and life"*'.

Fragment (b), bearing the title '*The good god, lord of the two lands 'Akheper[u]rē - - -*' doubtless comes from the side of the same or a similar pillar.

Fragment (c). Remains of a figure of Hathor '*- - - - -*, [*lady of*] *turquoise, lady of heaven, mistress of the two lands*'.

Fragment (d) gives remains of the royal name '*The good god 'Akheperurē; son of Rē - - - - -*'.

The fragment of inscription given by Weill, *Recueil*, no. 98, after a copy by Palmer, probably comes from the same room as these. If it is not part of a column inscription it may be that to which Petrie refers (P. R., p. 79) when he says that the name of Amenophis II 'is on the wall'.

207. TUTHMOSIS IV (Pl. LXII)*

For bibliography see PORTER-MOSS, VII, 351; WEILL, *Recueil*, no. 92, wrongly ascribed to Tuthmosis III.

Drawn from a Survey photograph (III, pl. 8). No E.E.F. copy. Scale unknown. Not found again in 1935.

Portion of a doorpost. It is clear from the Survey photograph that this was found in Chamber K, and in effect we read in P. R., p. 79: 'The northern jamb [of Chamber K] was inscribed by Tahutmes III or IV, doubtless the latter.' See our Pl. XCII.

On the left is a figure of Hathor and on the right a vertical line of hieroglyphs: '*Son of Rē of his body, his beloved, lord of the two lands, Menkheperurē - - - - -*'.

208. TUTHMOSIS IV (Pl. LVIII)

WEILL, *Recueil*, no. 103. E.E.F. copy; no controls. Not found again in 1935.

Inscribed block, giving the titles of Tuthmosis IV: '*The good god, lord of the two lands, Menkheperurē, Tuthmosis Khakharu, [endowed with life] like Rē every [day], [beloved of] Hathor, lady [of the turquoise].*'

This may be the inscription referred to by Petrie (P. R., p. 79) who, in describing Chamber L, says: 'On the walls are cartouches of Tahutmes III, and one of Tahutmes IV, added later.'

* At Brussels (E. 2068) there is a fragment of glazed pottery *kheperu[rē]*, [*beloved of*] *Hathor - - -*, see SPELEERS, *Recueil d'inscriptions égyptiennes*, p. 99, no. 383.

209. TUTHMOSIS IV

For bibliography see PORTER-MOSS, VII, 351. Weill, *Recueil*, no. 94, ascribed to Tuthmosis III, probably wrongly. From Survey photograph, *Survey*, III, pl. 8. No E.E.F. copy available. Not found again in 1935.

The Survey photograph shows us a Hathor column erect in Chamber J, inscribed '*The good god, lord of the two lands, Menkheperurê*'. The existence of the plural strokes ⋯ after ⲙ is probable, though not absolutely certain from the photograph. They are, however, probably visible on the original, for Petrie says concerning this column (P. R., p. 78): 'It appears to be inscribed by Tahutmes IV, and stands on a belt of paving.'

210. AMENOPHIS III

The inscribed small objects of this king found in the temple number rather more than twenty (P. R., p. 149). The more important of them are as follows (the references given are all to P. R.):

Fig. 133. Head of a fine portrait bust or figure of Queen Ty in dark green schistose steatite, now in the Cairo Museum, JE. 38257. For a full description see P. R., pp. 126-7; full bibliography in PORTER-MOSS, VII, 361-2.

Figs. 146, 4 and 5, and p. 140. Two fragments of glazed vases. No. 4 is inscribed '- - - son of Rêr, Amenhotep, ruler of Wêset, he made [it as his monument to Hathor] - - -'. No. 5 runs as follows: '- - - - - Nebmarêr - - - - - Amenhotep, ruler of Wêset, endowed with life eternally - - - - - sed-festivals like Rêr'.

Fig. 148, 11 and 12, and p. 142. Two fragments of glazed menats inscribed respectively '- - - - - Neb[marêr], beloved of Hathor, lady of the turquoise' and 'Lord of the two lands, Nebmarêr, beloved of Hathor, lady [of the turquoise]'.

Fig. 150, no. 2. Five fragments of a glazed wand inscribed with the cartouche *Nebmarêr*, fully described on p. 144.

Fig. 155, 5. Composition scarab with the cartouche *Nebmarêr* (?), ascribed to Sethos I on p. 150. It is almost impossible, without seeing the original object, to decide between ⋈ and ⋈ for the last sign. See under 246.

Fig. 155, 7. Quarter of a composition scarab with the description of a wild cattle hunt. For the type see NEWBERRY, *Scarabs*, pl. xxxiii, 1.

Three further fragments with the name of Amenophis III are at Brussels, E. 2052, 2067, and 1994, see SPELEERS, *Recueil d'inscriptions égyptiennes*, p. 99, nos. 375-7; one in Bristol Museum, H. 3263.

For other small objects of this reign bearing the name of Pinḥasy see 220 and 222.

211. AMENOPHIS III. YEAR 36 (Pl. LXVI)

For bibliography see PORTER-MOSS, VII, 350.

E.E.F. copy, very inadequate in the damaged passages; the upper part collated with B.M. squeeze 85, and the central portion with the Survey and E.E.F. photographs and Lottin's squeeze. For the lower portion there was no control except a much too small and rather blurred E.E.F. photograph which gives practically no help in the difficult passages. A hand copy in Weill's notebook (1905) is incomplete and of very little assistance. Collated with the original on 15.4.1935, when it was found broken in several pieces and the right-hand halves of lines 3-13 were missing.

Round-topped stela which stood in Room B on the left-hand side of the entrance to Room C. See P. R., p. 76, and our Pl. XCII. Dimensions 235 × 75 cm.

In the lunette are the winged disk and uraei with the cartouche and titles of the king, 'The good god, lord of the two lands Nebmarṛē, endowed with life eternally'. The lunette is closed at the bottom by the symbol of heaven, below which is a double scene, showing, on the left, the king, 'Son of Rē Amenhotep, ruler of Wēset', offering a conical loaf on a cup to 'Sopdu, the great god of the east', and, on the right, the king, 'The good god Nebmarṛē', offering two small vases of water to Hathor. The inscription, 'Beloved of Hathor, lady of the turquoise', at the same time refers to the king and also gives the name of the goddess, a double reference common in these scenes. Both deities are standing on a common pedestal and are therefore meant to be statues. In the central column we read, 'Said by Hathor, lady of the turquoise: "(I) am giving thee^a millions - - - - -"'.^b

Below is an inscription of twenty-three lines which, as far as is legible, reads as follows:

¹ Year 36, second month of winter, day 9, under the majesty of the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Nebmarṛē, ² son of Rē, Amenhotep, ruler of Wēset, endowed with life like Rē eternally and for ever. ³ Behold his majesty was in the southern city (= Thebes) - - - - - of Wēset. Behold ⁴ it was entrusted to the king's scribe, overseer of the Treasury [Sebek]hotep, ^b called Pinḥasy ⁵ to make - - - - - turquoise, while his majesty was celebrating the third ⁶ sed-festival^c - - - - - ⁷ - - - on the last day of the month - - - - - ⁸ - - - - - ⁹ - - - - - ¹⁰ - - - - - from^d Hathor, lady of the turquoise (?) in joy, while her heart was glad, ¹¹ [she] rejoicing [in what] Nebmarṛē [had done for her] - - - - - jubiling ¹² and laughing (?)^e - - - - - ¹³ Pinḥasy (?) - - - - - who had come forth with him were joyful. ¹⁴ the leaders were glad of heart and his work waxed mightily, ^f each one treading this hill country ¹⁵ adoring (?) this goddess, their scribe who was in their midst giving praise ¹⁶ daily, Amenmose whose name is Memay (?), - - - - - being present (?). ¹⁷ This scribe says: I followed my lord in the hill country; I took hold on the task which he had entrusted to me; I went forth on the ¹⁸ ocean to foretell the wonders of Punt,^g to obtain the odorous gums; I brought away the foreign princes^h ¹⁹ in their - - - (?) - - - with the tribute of numberless hill countries. Behold I have come also and trod the country ²⁰ of this goddess; I directed work for turquoise, I received - - - - - ²¹ - - - - - L.P.H. He gave the gold of reward, the mouths rejoiced - - - all - - - , all commands, work-people - - ²² - - - I found - - - sea - - - ²³ - - - in his reaching the [southern] city - - - - -.'


212. AMENOPHIS III. YEAR 36 (Pl. LXVI)

For bibliography see PORTER-MOSS, VII, 350. E.E.F. copy, unaltered; compared with the very poor Lottinograph, which shows but little of the horizontal lines. Not seen again in 1935.

Large round-topped stela, standing to the right of the doorway leading from Room B into Room C, on the other side of which stands its companion 211. See P. R., p. 76, and our Pl. XCII. Breadth 67 cm.


In the lunette are the winged disk and 'Behdetite, the great god, lord of heaven'. Below this is a single line of horizontal inscription giving the date, 'Year 36 under the majesty of the king of Upper

^a One expects .

^b Survey's photograph confirms the reading .

 suggested by 220.

^c *iw hm:f m* (GARDINER, *Gr.*, § 331) *hmt* (Wb. III, 284, 9) *hb-sd*.

^d  is visible before *Hthr* on Survey's photograph.

^e *sbṯ* (?)

^f *wrti*. This early example of the old perfective after *hpr* is interesting.

^g For the expression *sri bryt* see YOYOTTE, *Revue d'égyptologie* 9, 133 ff.

^h For this passage see Pap. Harris, 77, 11.

and Lower Egypt *Nebmarēr-image-of-Amūn* (?), ^a *granted life like Rēr*'. Below this is a scene in which the king makes an offering to Sopdu and Hathor. Above the king is written '*Son of Rēr, Amenhotep, ruler of Wēset; all stability, life and dominion like Rēr for ever*'. Behind him stands '*All protection of life be behind him like (behind) [Rēr]*'. In front of the figure of Sopdu, which has almost entirely disappeared, are two vertical lines in which '*Sopdu, lord of the east*' is apparently identified with '*Amon-Rēr, lord of the Thrones of the two lands*'.^d In front of the figure of Hathor is written '*Hathor, lady of the turquoise*', and behind her '*I am giving thee numerous sed-festivals*'. Beneath the scene are the remains of at least six lines of horizontal inscription. '*Life to Horus, - - - - - pacifying the two lands, - - - - - the god, good and mighty, son of Amūn - - - - -*'.

A fragment of the north edge of the stela (breadth 26 cm.) also remains. It shows the figure of a dog (?) -headed god with an *atef*-crown (?) holding a *uas*-sceptre, and below this a man bearing a standard on which is the figure of a bull. Before and behind the upper figure are a few illegible hieroglyphs.

213. AMENOPHIS III (Pl. LXVI)

E.E.F. copy; no controls. Not found again in 1935.

Column inscription, 84 × 12 cm.

The provenance of this inscription is not marked. We have in all three column inscriptions of this king, 213, 214, and 215. Of these, 214 is known by photographic evidence to have come from Chamber D. Now Petrie (P. R., p. 77) mentions three Hathor columns inscribed by this king, two in Chamber D and one in E. There is thus a strong probability that of 213 and 215, one is from D and one from E, but we have no evidence for deciding which comes from which chamber.

'*The good god, lord of the two lands, lord of [initiative], Nebmarēr, [beloved of] Hathor, lady of the turquoise.*'

214. [AMENOPHIS III] (Pl. LXV A)

WEILL, *Recueil*, no. 95. E.E.F. copy; no control except a half-tone reproduction of E.E.F. photograph in P. R., fig. 95. Not found again in 1935.

Inscription from a Hathor column in Chamber D. See P. R., p. 77 and fig. 95. Dimensions 110 × 14 cm. '*The good god, beloved of eternity (sic!), king of Upper and Lower Egypt, [Nebmarēr], beloved of Hathor, [lady of] the turquoise.*' Petrie's statements, loc. cit., form the evidence for the attribution to Amenophis III.



215. AMENOPHIS III (Pl. LIX)

E.E.F. copy; no controls. Not found again in 1935.




Vertical inscription, 111 × 12 cm., apparently from a column. This comes almost certainly from Chamber D or E (see under 213). P. R., p. 77.

'*The good god, rich in sed-festivals, king of Upper and Lower Egypt, lord of the two lands, Nebmarēr, beloved of Hathor, lady of the turquoise.*'

^a *Amūn* of the copy is highly suspect since elsewhere the cartouche of Amenophis III includes the epithet '*image of Rēr*'.

^b The copy suggests  but perhaps we should read  which seems not impossible from the squeeze.

^c Reading *h'f* (? *h'k*).

^d Lottin's squeeze seems to confirm the reading *Spd nb wbt*, and Lepsius read clearly   ; the figure of the god was also visible to him.

^e Reading *dl'm* (?) *n'k*.

line behind the standing man runs: 'Overseer of the Treasury Sebekhotep, called Pinhasy, true of voice.'

219. (AMENOPHIS III) (Pl. LXV)

E.E.F. copy; no controls. Collated with the original on 12.4.1935.

Base of a statue of Pinhasy. Provenance unknown; de Buck saw it east of 100 (see Pl. XCII).

'- - - - true scribe of the king, his beloved, overseer of the Treasury, Pinhasy, son of the dignitary, overseer of the Treasury Sebekmose, true of voice.'

220. (AMENOPHIS III) (Pl. LXV)

E.E.F. copy; controlled at the Exhibition (1905) (see *Catalogue*, p. 14). Now at Edinburgh, Roy. Scottish Museum, 1905.284.1.

Alabaster base of a statuette; provenance not given.

The inscription reads: 'Made under the direction of the king's scribe, overseer of the Treasury, Sebekhotep, called Pinhasy, true of voice, son of the dignitary, overseer of the Treasury Sebekmose, true of voice.'

221. (AMENOPHIS III) (Pl. LXV)

Copied by us from the original.

Fragments of a basalt statuette, now in the Edwards Collection, University College, London.

The inscription from the back runs: '1 - - - - - Hathor, lady of the turquoise - - - - - Behold, thou art among every kind of evil - - - 2 - - - - - for the ka of the praised one - - - - - his god Amūn, the king's scribe, overseer of the Treasury, Pinhasy - - -'. On top of the base we read: '1 all that comes forth on the altar of 2 Hathor, lady of the turquoise, for the ka (of) 3 the king's scribe, overseer of the Treasury Pinhasy.'

222. AMENOPHIS III

To the monuments of Pinhasy and to the reign of Amenophis III belong fragments of two alabaster vases which have been almost completely restored by Mr. Young of the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, where they now lie (nos. 1911.413-14). Published by LEEDS, *JEA* 8, 1 ff., and pl. 1; 11 [bottom middle]; for bibliography see PORTER-MOSS, VII, 362.

The incised inscription on the body of the first runs: 'Lord of the two lands Nebmacrē, lord of might (ḥpš), Amenhotep, ruler of Wēset, endowed with life [like Rē], beloved of Hathor, lady of the turquoise'. Above the stem: 'The [royal] scribe, overseer of the Treasury, [Pinhas]y, true of voice.' The incisions are filled with a red colouring matter.

On the second: 'King of Upper and Lower Egypt Nebmacrē, son of Rē, Amenhotep, ruler of Wēset, endowed with life like Rē, beloved of Hathor, lady of the turquoise.' Below this: '[The royal scribe], overseer of the Treasury, Pinhasy, [true of voice]'.^a

A further fragment is at Brussels, E. 3100, publ. by SPELEERS, *Recueil d'inscriptions égyptiennes*, p. 40, no. 156; and still another in P. R., fig. 144, 7.

^a Or is *mik* the verb here?

^b For the writing with a flower see *Wb.* II, 17, 16-18.

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Our example attests it earlier than 'end XVIIIth Dynasty (Amarna)' as there stated.

223. XVIIITH DYNASTY (Pl. LXV A)

E.E.F. copy; no provenance given. Not found again in 1935. Probably a portion of a block from a wall, or of a large stela; 22 × 52 cm. Three lines of badly damaged inscription of which it is impossible to give a translation.

224. XVIIITH DYNASTY (Pl. LXV A)

E.E.F. copy; no means of control. Not found again in 1935.

Small fragment of inscription from the Sanctuary, probably part of a stela; 11 × 12 cm.

The fragment evidently contained *hṯp-dī-nsw* prayers to Ptah-Sokar and to another deity (Sopdu?).

225. XVIIITH DYNASTY (Pl. LXV)

E.E.F. copy. Fragment from a small stela (17 × 14 cm.). Provenance unknown. Now in the Chadwick Museum, Bolton, no. 58.05.3.

The stela belonged to the 'petty official' *Nebshabet*,^a *possessing honour*,^b who is represented at the bottom of the stela in front of an offering table and smelling a lotus flower.

226. XVIIITH DYNASTY (?) (Pl. LXV A)

E.E.F. copy compared with the original which is now in the Edwards Collection, University College, London.

Fragment of a stela (22 × 37 cm.). Provenance not stated.

On the right was a figure of '*Hathor, lady of the turquoise*', and on the left a man whose name is lost except for the determinative and indistinct traces of two signs that preceded it.^c The signs above seem to be his title and are perhaps to be read *nī-dt*^d *hryt* '*servant of lower grade*'. If so, the fragment could hardly be of XVIIIth Dynasty date, for the title *nī-dt* is not attested from the New Kingdom.

227. XVIIITH DYNASTY (Pl. LXV)

E.E.F. copy; collated with the original at the Exhibition (1905). Present whereabouts unknown. Fragment of a small stela (10 × 14 cm.). Provenance not given.

On the left is a much-damaged figure of '*Hathor, lady of the turquoise*', and on the right a man whose title and name are difficult to read but may be *nī-dt Pp* '*servant Pp*', for whom see 226. He is holding a small altar of burning incense.

228. XVIIITH DYNASTY (Pl. LXV)

E.E.F. copy; no controls. Present whereabouts unknown.

Inscribed fragment (18 × 16 cm.) of unknown provenance. '- - - [all things] good and pure on which a god lives - - - [who followed his lord on (?) water, on land, and in the hill countries - - - -]'

^a Probably read [𓆎] ^{id} 𓆎.

^b Not in RANKE.

^c Photographs suggest 𓆎 𓆎 and the man may be

identical with the devotee of 227. For the name see RANKE, p. 131, 8.

^d *Wb.* v, 511, 2.

229. XVIIITH DYNASTY (Pl. LXVI)

E.E.F. copy; no controls. Present whereabouts unknown.

Fragment of inscription marked 'Cave, part of complex altar (?)'. This cannot possibly belong to either of the altars 89 and 95 stated by Petrie (P. R., p. 95) to have been found in the Hathor Cave.

The inscription reads '---- of the king, *Senmen. An-offering-which-the-king-gives (to) Osiris, lord of ----.*'

230. XVIIITH DYNASTY (Pl. LXVI)


E.E.F. copy; original examined at the Exhibition (1905). Present whereabouts unknown.

Apparently an inscription from the upper surface of the base of a statuette (29 × 21 cm.). Provenance unknown.

'*An offering-which-the-king-gives (to) Hathor, lady of the turquoise, that he (sic) may give voice-offerings of bread and beer, flesh and fowl, and all things good and pure to the ka of the great steward Pasukh (?)*' ----.'

231. XVIIITH DYNASTY (Pl. LXVII)

E.E.F. copies, controlled by an E.E.F. photograph of the front, and throughout by squeezes kindly made for us by the authorities of the Royal Scottish Museum, Edinburgh, where the statue now is (no. 1905.284.4-5).

The statue, judging by the phrase  in the inscription, must have represented Thoth, but the upper part is lost. The inscription begins on the front of the legs and is continued on the front and left side of the base. '[¹ *An offering-which-the-king-gives (to)*] *Hathor, lady of the turquoise, (and to) Sopdu, lord of* [² *the east, (and to) this Thoth, who is at the head of Hēsret,*^b *(and to) Hārēr, lord of* [³ *Sakheb,*^c *that they may give all that which is offered upon their altars,* [⁴ *bread, beer, wine, milk and a sweet breeze of the north (base) to the ka of the scribe May of Sa(khe)b,*^d *begotten of the scribe Mery, born of the lady [of a house]*']^e

For the fragment marked 231 A see under next number.





231 A. XVIIITH DYNASTY (Pl. LXVII)


E.E.F. copy;^f no controls. Collated in 1935 with the original then rediscovered in the Room S of the temple.

Inscription from the front of a squatting statuette; the back of the statuette is blank and its head and base are missing. The present height is 40 cm. '[¹ *Royal envoy [whom] his majesty [sent]*^g *(as) overseer of works of Hasekhem,*^h [² *the favourite* ----, *begotten of Wabtum,*ⁱ [³ *born of* ----, [⁴ *repeating life, possessing honour*].

^a The name seemed very doubtful on the original.

^b Hēsret is the necropolis of the town of Hermopolis.

^c There is certainly a horizontal stroke above  though its damaged condition does not allow us to decide between  and , which later is written  in this inscription. *Shb* is the town to which the Westcar Papyrus attributes the origin of the kings of the Vth Dynasty; on its position, somewhere in the Letopolite nome, see SAUNERON, *Kémi*, I, 63-72.

^d The name of May's native town can hardly be anything else than Sakheb (see last note) with  left out by the

sculptor.

^e The mother's name is written cryptographically.

^f The copy was rolled up with, and numbered similarly to those of 231, to which it does not belong.

^g Signs ,  and the head of  were missing in 1935.

^h The town Hû in Upper Egypt.

ⁱ For this curious proper name see RANKE, p. 77, 2.

^j The upper part of the feminine determinative was missing in 1935.

232. XVIIITH DYNASTY (Pl. LXVII)

E.E.F. copy, untouched; compared with the original at the Exhibition (1905). Now at Greenock, Maclean Museum.

Fragment (25 × 21 cm.) of a round-topped stela with figures of four persons whose names and titles appear to be '*The scribe Neb - - - -, the steward - - - -, the - - - - - Rekhmirē, and the - - - - - Khar*'.

233. XVIIITH DYNASTY (Pl. LXVII)

E.E.F. copy, controlled at the Exhibition (1905). Present whereabouts unknown.

Small round-topped stela, 25 × 16 cm., broken below. Provenance unknown.

The scene shows '*Horus, lord of Hebenu*', facing Hathor. The dedicator appears below on the left. '*An offering-which-the-king-gives (to) Hathor, lady of the turquoise, that she may give praise, love, and alertness (to) the overseer of the Treasury, manager of the - - - - - of the god's wife, scribe Minmose.*'

234. XVIIITH DYNASTY (Pl. LXVII)

WEILL, *Recueil*, no. 154. Tracing from B.M. squeeze. (28 × 28 cm.) No note of position or provenance. Not found again in 1935.

On the left a male figure holds in the left hand a brazier, and in the right a vase from which he pours into a larger vessel on the ground. '*An offering-which-the-king-gives (to) Hathor, lady of the turquoise, that she may give life, prosperity and health, alertness, praise and love to the ka of the engraver* of the carpenter's shop^b of Pharaoh, L.P.H., Kheruf.*' For Kheruf see 58 A. He is probably, too, the same man as the dedicator of 235.

235. XVIIITH DYNASTY (Pl. LXVII)

E.E.F. copy, compared with a small and indistinct E.E.F. photograph. Now in Cairo Museum, JE. 38266.

Round-topped stela (54 × 37 cm.). A bearded (?)^c figure presents two trussed and burning geese to a statue of '*Hathor, lady of the turquoise, lady of heaven, mistress of all the gods*'. The man's name and titles are '*The scribe of accounts (?)^d of the dock^e Kheruf*'. Below are three lines of inscription: '*[1 An offering-which-the-king-gives (to) Hathor, lady of the turquoise, that she may give praise, love, and alertness in the presence of the sovereign, - - - |2 - - - - - of the king, the praised one of the great god - - - |3 - - - - - of the lord of the two lands - - - - - Kheruf (?)^f - - - - -]*'.

236. XVIIITH DYNASTY (Pl. LXVII)

E.E.F. copy; controlled at the Exhibition (1905). Now in Glasgow, Kelvingrove Museum, no. 05.143a.

Round-topped stela with lower portion missing (45 × 38 cm.). Provenance unknown.

Figure of a man offering incense to '*Hathor, lady of the turquoise, - - - - - a happy life, praise and love*'. '*For the ka of Neberoy.*'

* *it, md:t*.

^b *Wb.* III, 86, 11. For the meaning 'carpenter' for *hmv* in the New Kingdom see GARDINER, *Onomastica*, I, p. 66*.

^c A false beard seems to be visible in the photograph.

^d The photograph does not help, probably read *ḥm*.

^e Pap. Bulaq no. 18 (see SCHARFF, *ZÄS* 57, 60) in a list of

people to whom payments are made includes *ḥm* *nty hr* [t] *whrt*. These are doubtless the workers in the *ḥm* of 234. For a *imy-r hmv whr*, 'overseer of carpenters of the dock-yard', see GARDINER, *Onomastica*, I, p. 215*.

^f Suits the traces in the photograph.

237. XVIIITH DYNASTY (Pl. LXVII)

E.E.F. copy; no controls. Present whereabouts unknown. Round-topped stela, 49 × 33 cm. Provenance unknown.

At the top is the winged disk, below the defaced figure of a man standing before a statue of Hathor;^a between them is an offering table. In front of Hathor the words '*Hathor, lady of the turquoise*'.

238. XVIIITH DYNASTY (Pl. LXVII)

E.E.F. copy; collated with the original in the Edwards Collection, University College, London. The left-hand portion has weathered away since the copy was made.

Fragment of a stela (20 × 20 cm.). The inscription seems to run: '----- which he said, I cut^b tišps-trees [in Pun]t, gums in Ud[enet](?)'.^c

239. XVIIITH DYNASTY (Pl. LXIX)

E.E.F. copy; no controls. Present whereabouts unknown.

Small round-topped stela (22 × 15 cm.). Provenance unknown.

Two figures present offerings to Hathor, '*Mistress of the turquoise*'. The foremost is called [Hat]horhotep (?), but the name of the second is lost.

240. XVIIITH (?) DYNASTY (Pl. LXIX)

E.E.F. copy; compared with a good photograph kindly provided by the authorities of the National Museum of Science and Art, Dublin, where the stela now is (no. 1905.262). No alterations could be made from the photograph.

Portion of a small stela (20 × 18 cm.). Two men are shown in adoration before '*Hathor, lady of the turquoise*'. The name of the first is perhaps *Rēremhab*. His dress indicates that the stela should probably be assigned to the XIXth Dynasty.

241. XVIIITH DYNASTY (Pl. LXIX)

E.E.F. copy; controlled by a squeeze kindly provided by the authorities of the Royal Scottish Museum, Edinburgh, where the monument now is (no. 1905.284.2).

Small inscription from the top of the base of a statuette of King Snofru. '1st King of Upper and Lower Egypt Snofru, Horus "*Nebmare*", living eternally, 2nd beloved of Hathor, lady of the turquoise country.' There is no other inscription on the base.

242. XVIIITH DYNASTY (Pl. LXVIII)

E.E.F. copy; no controls. Present whereabouts unknown.

Round-topped stela (38 × 23 cm.); provenance unknown.

'*Hathor, lady of the turquoise, lady of heaven*' receives an offering of a lotus flower and a bird from a man who is followed by another with bent arm. The lines of inscription over the men are mostly illegible. In the last line one discerns *Hkꜣ-shꜣpr* which may be the second man's name.^d

^a Note the base.

^b [T]w<⋄> <hr> šꜣd. This cannot stand at the beginning of a speech, consequently the preceding dd-f cannot be simply 'he says'.

^c Reading $\text{𓆎}[\text{𓆎} \text{𓆎}]$, for which see 427 and GAUTHIER, *Dict. géogr.* 1, 209.

^d See similar formations, RANKE, p. 319, 6 and 7.

243. XVIIITH DYNASTY (Pl. LXVIII)

E.E.F. copy; controlled at the Exhibition (1905), and compared with a good photograph kindly provided by the authorities of the National Museum of Science and Art, Dublin, where the stela now is, under the number 1905.262.

Small stela (25 × 17 cm.) of unknown provenance. On the left stands a man in adoration before Hathor, who is on the right and who wears the disk and uraeus without horns. '*Hathor, lady of the turquoise*;^a *may she give life and alertness to* - - - - -^b *Hori*.'

244. RAMESSES II (Pl. LXVIII)

For bibliography see PORTER-MOSS, VII, 363. E.E.F. copy, controlled by excellent E.E.F. and Brussels Museum photographs.

Fragments of a finely engraved stela of limestone, 40 cm. in breadth. Provenance unknown. See P. R., p. 127, and fig. 135. Now at Brussels E. 2171 except for the small fragment on the top.

The upper part of the stela, including the lunette, held a scene in which Rameses II on the right presumably made an offering to a deity, doubtless Hathor, on the left. Of the figure of the goddess nothing remains save the bottom half of the *uas*-sceptre which she held. Behind this is a fragment of inscription, '*King of Upper Egypt eternally [like] Rē(?)*'. Behind the king is a vertical line of hieroglyphs of which part is lost: '- - - - [King of Upper and Lower Egypt Usimacrē-] Setepenrē, son of Rē, Rāmesse, endowed with life eternally.' The main inscription runs: '¹ *Life to Horus, "Strong bull, abiding of kingdom", two goddesses "Rising as king like Atūm", golden Horus "Making fast truth throughout the two banks",* ² *the good god, son of Amūn, whom Mūt, mistress of heaven, bore to be ruler of all that the sun's disk embraces, who came forth from the body of him who ordained victory for him,* ³ *founding the two banks repeatedly, who increased festivals of the gods. His father Atūm brought him up^c while he was* ⁴ *a child in order to act with loving heart^d renewing the monuments that were in ruins, making bright the name (of)* ⁵ *his mother Hathor, mistress of the turquoise, making a path towards her for those who did not have (her) in their hearts;^e thy mother Hathor sets it in [thy heart]^f* ⁶ *even as she has given to him eternity as king (namely to) the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, lord of the two lands, Menpehtyrē, son of Rē Rāmesse, endowed with life for ever.*'

245. RAMESSES I (Pl. LXIX)

E.E.F. copy. Collated with the original at the Exhibition (1905). Now in Cairo Museum, JE. 38264.



Round-topped stela, 41 × 25 cm. Provenance unknown. Noted P. R., p. 128.

The king in the blue crown offers two small vases to Hathor, who stands on a pedestal. Before her is '*Hathor, mistress of the turquoise*'. Before and above the king is '*Lord of the two lands Menpehtyrē, lord of risings Rāmesse, endowed with life like Rē*'.

246. SETHOS I

The inscribed small objects of this reign are estimated by Petrie (P. R., p. 149) at 17. The more important are as follows, the references being to P. R.:

Fig. 146, 6, 7, and 8, and p. 140. Fragments of tubular vases of glazed composition with cartouches

^a The photograph shows that the sign given as  in front of the mouth of the goddess should read . The small round hole below this is fortuitous.

^b These signs in front of the man's body are unintelligible and probably give the man's title.

^c Read []  *shpr*.

^d Read <ṛ> *irt n* (for *m*) *ib mrr*; for *m ib mrr* see Wb. II, 101, 7.

^e *nn m hity-sn*.



^f Read *m ib-k*.

of Sethos. No. 8 bears an inscription which runs as follows: '*Lord of the two lands Menmarēr, lord of risings Seti Merenptah, beloved of Ptah, lord of - - - - -*'.

Fig. 149, 1, and p. 143. Glazed bracelet. Now at Brussels, E. 2054, cf. SPELEERS, *Recueil d'inscriptions égyptiennes*, p. 99, no. 385.

Fig. 150, 3, and p. 145. Glazed composition wand, now in Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, E. 3320.

Fig. 155, 4, and p. 150. Composition cartouche.

Fig. 155, 5, and p. 150. Composition cartouche assigned by Petrie to Sethos I. The last sign, however, so far as one can judge from the illustration, looks more like  than , and the object is perhaps to be assigned to Amenophis III; see under 210.

Two other fragments are at Brussels E. 1995 and E. 2001, see SPELEERS, *Recueil d'inscriptions égyptiennes*, p. 99, nos. 386 and 387. The first is perhaps figured in P. R., fig. 146, 6. A further fragment of a vase is in Bristol, H. 3241.

247. SETHOS I. YEAR 8 (Pl. LXVIII)

For bibliography see PORTER-MOSS, VII, 348.

Drawing made: (a) north face (old 247) from enlarged E.E.F. photograph. The Lottinograph was of little use and the E.E.F. expedition does not appear to have copied it; (b) south face (old 248) from E.E.F. copy controlled by a mediocre E.E.F. photograph and a poor Lottinograph. A copy in Weill's notebook (1905) gave a little help; (c) west edge (old 262) from E.E.F. copy, obviously very faulty; no controls. Collated with the original on 14.1935.

Round-topped free-standing stela (height 255 cm., breadth 58 cm.), standing on the rising ground south of the temple, at the spot marked XVI in Pl. XCI. See WEILL, *P.S.*, p. 176; *P. R.*, pp. 72 and 74, and figs. 68, 85, and 90. Of these last fig. 85 gives an admirable idea of the commanding position in which the stela was set up.

North (true north-west) face

At the top is a scene in which King Sethos I offers two small vases to Horus. The inscriptions read: '*Lord of the two lands, Menmarēr, lord of risings, Seti Merenptah, endowed with life and dominion like Rēr*'. Behind the king we read: '*All protection of life behind him like Rēr*'. In front of the god: '*Offering-that-the-king-gives (to) Harakhte, the great god, lord of heaven, lord of eternity, for ever*'.

Below are eight horizontal lines of inscription, weathered in places: '|¹ Year 8,^a first month of winter season, day 2, under the majesty of the Horus, "Strong bull rising in Thebes |² and (in) Ankh-tauy";^b twin-goddesses, "Repeating births, great in might, oppressing the nine bows"; |³ Horus-of-gold, "Repeating risings, mighty of bows in all lands"; |⁴ king of Upper and Lower Egypt, lord of the two lands, lord of might, Menmarēr, son of Rēr of his body, his beloved, |⁵ lord of risings, Seti Merenptah, endowed with life like Rēr eternally. Like to the good god, |⁶ merciful, son of Amūn, the hero, lord of strength, beloved of Mont, |⁷ majestic,^c mighty [in] every country like his father^d Sētekh, |⁸ strong bull,, ruler of the nine bows, lord of the two lands, Menmarēr, endowed with life and might.'

Below are the king's cartouches, before which an official stands in adoration. '*Made by the royal messenger in all lands, valiant (?) commander of troops, Ashahebsed, repeating life*'.

^a There are actually only seven strokes, but the blank distance, left between the first and second stroke from left in the bottom row, suggests that a stroke was originally painted here but omitted in carving. The number '8' is confirmed by

the east face.

^b *ḥnb-twy* was a name of Memphis.

^c .

^d For the order of signs compare 252.

South face (= old 248)

At the top is a scene in which the king offers a conical object (loaf of bread) to 'Hathor, lady^a of the turquoise'. Over the king is 'The good god, lord of the two lands, Menmacrē, son of Rē, lord of risings, Seti Meryptah'.

Below are the remains of at least fourteen lines of inscription, of which our copy gives only ten, the photograph and Weill's copy vouching for the remainder. This part of the stela is sadly weathered in the centre and only the beginnings and ends of the lines have survived:

'¹ Year 8, first month of^b - - - - - [under the majesty of the Horus] "Strong bull^c rising in Thebes", ² who gives life to - - - - - Horus-of-gold, "Repeating^d risings, ³ mighty^e [of bows in all lands]", king of Upper and Lower Egypt, lord of the two lands, lord of might, Seti Mer(en)ptah, ⁴ endowed with life - - - - - the sovereign, ⁵ mighty of respect - - - - -'. The remainder is untranslatable.

West edge, 56 × 41 cm. (= old 262)

The upper part is uninscribed, in the lower half the figure of a man is shown in an attitude of adoration. To the left are two vertical lines of inscription which begin 'The giving of praises^f to thy (?) ka - - - - -' and end '- - of the lord of the two lands Amenhēt'. The inscription above, which finishes over and behind the shoulders of the figure, reads: 'It is his son who makes [his] name to live, the commander of bowmen of the Well^h (of) Ramesses Meriamūn, endowed with life, Amenemōpe'. (The scene begins at the level of the top of the last horizontal line of north face.)

Amenemōpe is well known to us from 252, 260, and 261. It is evident that in this scene he is adoring the ka of his father, whose name is unfortunately lost.

East edge was uninscribed or has completely weathered.

248

Is the east face of 247; see under the latter.

249. SETHOS I (Pl. LXIX)

E.E.F. copy. No controls. Not seen again in 1935.


Block from the south wall of Room A. 40 × 49 cm. See P. R., p. 76, and our Pl. XCII.


A king offers two small vases to Ptah. Before the face of the king are his cartouches, 'Menmacrē, Seti Meryptah', while in front of the god is still visible 'South of his wall, chiefⁱ of the Great Place'.

250. SETHOS I AND RAMESSES II (Pl. LXXI)



E.E.F. copy, checked with the original at the Exhibition (1905) and controlled by a good E.E.F. photograph. Present whereabouts unknown.

^a  is omitted in *nbt*.

^b After the year date the photograph suggests .


^c  from Weill's copy, supported by photograph.

^d Photograph .

^e  on the Plate should be corrected into .


^f The cartouche contains  (Weill and photograph).

^g Probably a sculptor's error for .

^h Read . The 'Well (of) Ramesses Meriamūn' is probably one of the cisterns on the military road from Egypt to Palestine which in the Karnak reliefs of Sethos I are called after this king (see GARDINER, *JEA* 6, 112 ff.), but were later renamed after Ramesses II.

ⁱ .

Portion (55 × 45 cm.) of a large stela, provenance unknown.

In the upper register are remains of two figures, which, as both wear the bull's tail, are doubtless those of Sethos I and his son, Prince Ramesses. Between them is a vase supported on a slender offering table, above which were perhaps two lotus flowers (compare 247). Below stands 'Ashaḥēbsed (see 247, 252, 253, and 260) in adoration. Before his face is the conclusion of his full title, which we know also from 252:  'Valiant [commander of bowmen], king's butler'.^a The inscription in four vertical lines runs: '1 Giving praise to thy ka ----- | 2 many -----
----- chariotry ----- | 3 son of Rē, Seti Merenptah, and his royal son Usimacrē -----
| 4 ----- like (?) Hathor, lady of the turquoise, lord of risings, Ramesses Meriamūn, endowed with
life like Rē -----.'

251. RAMESSES II

Inscribed small objects of this king are exceedingly numerous at Serâbî, and Petrie (P. R., p. 149) gives their number as 168. WEILL, *Recueil*, nos. 126–9, records four which are in the B.M. (three of them nos. 13199, 13202, and 13238), all vase fragments, of which two (127 and 129) might possibly belong to Ramesses III. The best preserved and most important of the remainder are noticed below, the references being to P. R.:

Fig. 146, 9 and 10, and p. 140. Fragments of glazed tubular vases. On one the king is described as 'beloved of Hathor' and on the other (9) as 'beloved of Etfēnet, mistress of heaven'.



Fig. 149, 2, 3, 4, and 5, and p. 143. Fragments of glazed composition bracelets. There is nothing remarkable in the inscriptions except the description of Hathor as  *ḥnwt mfkꜣt* in place of the more usual  *nbt mfkꜣt*. The title *ḥnwt mfkꜣt*, which occurs for the first time in this reign, is not uncommon on small objects both under this king and later. The bracelet P. R., fig. 149, 4, is now in Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, E. 3329.

Fig. 150, 4, 5, and 6, and p. 145. Glazed composition wands. These bear the sacred eye and a single cartouche. The first is in Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, E. 3321.

Fig. 151, 1, and p. 145. Fragment of a ring-stand for vases, made of glazed composition.

Fig. 151, 18, and p. 147. Portion of a glazed composition sistrum.

Fig. 156, 5, and p. 151. Portion of a lotus-shaped goblet in glazed composition.

Nine fragments are now in Brussels, E. 2055–6, 2172, 2002–4, 2000, 1988, and 2008, see SPELEERS, *Recueil d'inscriptions égyptiennes*, p. 99, nos. 388–94 and 410; five fragments in Bristol Museum, H. 3243–7, and a further one in *Stud. and Doc.* vi, pl. 12, fig. 25, 2.

To these must be added part of an alabaster vase in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford (no. 1911.406), in the form of Bes, incised with the following inscription: 'Lord of the two lands, Usimacrē Setepenrē; lord of risings, Ramesses Meriamūn.' Above the two cartouches is the winged disk. The incisions are filled with a red substance. For the bibliography see PORTER–MOSS, vii, 363.

252. RAMESSES II. YEAR 2 (Pl. LXX)

For bibliography see PORTER–MOSS, vii, 349–50.

E.E.F. copy, somewhat inaccurate in detail; collated with and corrected from Survey and E.E.F. photographs. The scene at the top was drawn in by us from a Survey photograph, and a fragment copied by E.E.F. inserted in its place. The upper part of the stela has clearly been badly damaged

^a *Wdꜣw*.

since 1868. De Buck saw the right-hand bottom corner 'still standing *in situ*', but it was not seen again in 1935 and was probably completely destroyed by that time.

Round-topped stela of 67 cm. in breadth, standing on the left of the main entrance to the temple. See P. R., pp. 73 and 75, and figs. 87 and 88, which show the position of the stela in front of the entrance very effectively. See Pl. XCII.

The lunette, which contained the winged disk, is completely defaced.

Below is a scene showing the king, Ramesses II, offering to Horus. Before the face of the king are his titles and names: '*Lord of the two lands, [Usi]marrēr Setepenrēr, [king of Upper and Lower Egypt], Ramesses Meriamūn.*' Before the god was written, apparently, '*Horus, lord of heaven*'.

Below the scene are nine horizontal lines of inscription reading: '|¹ Year 2, Life to Horus, "*Victorious bull, beloved of Maet*", |² two-goddesses "*Protector of Egypt, binder of* |³ *foreign lands*", golden-Horus "*Powerful of years, |⁴ great of victories*", king of Upper and Lower Egypt, ruler of the |⁵ *nine bows, lord of power, chosen of Rēr in the sun-barque, |⁶ lord of the two lands, resplendent as ruler, mighty of strength in* |⁷ *all foreign lands, like his father Amon-Rēr, king of the gods, lord of heaven, |⁸ Usimarrēr-Setepenrēr, son of Rēr, lord of risings, Ramesses Meriamūn, beloved |⁹ of Hathor, lady of the turquoise, mistress of heaven, lady of the two lands.*' Beneath this are represented two persons in adoration before the cartouches of the king, each surmounted by the disk and two feathers. The figure on the left is that of '*The valiant commander of bowmen, king's butler of his majesty Ashahebsed*',^a while that on the right is '*The commander of bowmen of the "Well of Ramesses-Meriamūn"*' Amen[emōpe].'^b

253. RAMESSES II (Pl. LXX)

For bibliography see PORTER-MOSS, VII, 363. E.E.F. copy, no controls. Not found again in 1935.

The copy is marked 'In front of gate', but we are unable to discover to what gate this refers. Judging by its dimensions, 63 × 39 cm., the fragment is probably a sculptured block. A fan-bearer with fan and sceptre adores the cartouche of '*Usimarrēr Setepenrēr*'. Over his head are the remains of his title and name '*Fan-[bearer, Asha]hebsed*'.

254. RAMESSES II (Pl. LXIX)

E.E.F. copy, to some extent controlled by a small E.E.F. photograph. Not seen again in 1935.


Round-topped stela (73 × 47 cm.), much worn. Provenance not indicated.

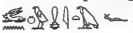
In the lunette the king, followed by a wife or daughter, makes offerings to Hathor.


Below are three horizontal lines of hieroglyphs: '|¹ Life to Horus "*Victorious bull beloved-of-Maet*", the two goddesses "*Protecting-Egypt-and-curbing-the desert- |² countries*", golden Horus "*Rich-in-years- [great-in-victories]*", king [of Upper] and Lower Egypt Usimarrēr, son of Rēr Ramesses-Meriamūn, ruler of Wēset, |³ *granted life eternally and for ever, being like (?) his mother Hathor, lady of the turquoise.*'

Below this is the figure of the actual dedicator of the stela, adoring the cartouches of Ramesses II. The cartouche over his hands is enigmatic.^d Behind him, a vertical line of hieroglyphs doubtless gave his name and titles.

^a For name and titles compare 247, 250, 253, 260.

^b In the Survey photograph it is possible to make out  in the first vertical line. The name and title can be fully restored from 260, 261, and 262.

^c The photograph, though very indistinct, suggests .

^d Perhaps from right to left ; if so, the man would probably be Amenemōpe of 252, 260, 261, and 262.

255. RAMESSES II (Pl. LXX)

E.E.F. copy; no controls.

Sculptured block. The copy is marked 'Slab in Chamber I'. It is possible that Chamber I, which does not exist on Petrie's plan, is that finally designated Chamber J, but it is impossible to be certain on this point. The copy is further marked in Petrie's handwriting 'buried, not checked'. 59 × 56 cm. Not found again in 1935.

Figure of '*Ramesses-Meriamūn*' offering two vases to a deity; he is followed by a queen or princess who holds some flowers. A '*royal scribe*' is mentioned in the inscription below, of which little can be made. An obscure reference to the well-known '*Vizier Pesiūr*' dates the slab to the reign of Ramesses II.

256. RAMESSES II (Pl. LXV A)

E.E.F. copy; no controls. Not seen again in 1935, but de Buck saw the right-hand half of it at the 'beginning of temple' and verified the copy.

Inscription marked 'Lintel, small chamber' and 'Lintel of door west of the two Amenhotep III stelae'. From this it is fairly certain that we have to deal with the lintel of the doorway between Chambers A and B. '----- *Life^a to the good god, Ramesses Meriamūn, endowed with life like Rē.*' Dimensions 20 × 65 cm.

257. RAMESSES II (Pl. LXIX)

E.E.F. copy; no controls. Collated with the original and completed on 5.4.1935.

The E.E.F. copy is marked 'Door jamb near 40', and as 40 corresponds to our 120 it is clear that the inscription comes from a jamb in the Portico Court. It was found lying in the Hall of Sopdu in 1935. Dimensions 150 × 31 cm.

'Lord of the two lands, Usimārēr Setepenrēr; lord of risings, Ramesses Meriamūn, [beloved] of Hathor, lady of the turquoise, lady of heaven.'

This is a re-used stone of the XVIIIth Dynasty. Traces of the older representation, the upper part of the body of a standing man, are still visible. In front of the man runs a vertical line of text: '*Valiant royal envoy of his majesty Nakht, repeating life, possessor of honour*'. This is the same man as Nakht of 184 and 191 and the door-jamb might have been originally a pillar like 184, the two pillars of the Hall of Sopdu; 191, the pillar in the Hathor Hanafīyah; or 258. The latter also bore an earlier sculpture similar to that of 257, so that it is even possible that 257 is the missing south-east pillar in the lesser Hanafīyah.

258. RAMESSES II (Pl. LXXI)

For bibliography see PORTER-MOSS, VII, 353. Weill has here made two separate inscriptions out of two reproductions by Lottin of a single squeeze (L.L., pl. 10, 3, and pl. 7, 3). E.E.F. copy, incomplete; corrected and completed from E.E.F. photographs. Collated with the original on 9.4.1935.

Inscriptions from pillars in the lesser Hanafīyah. See P. R., pp. 87-88, and our Pl. XCII.

^a This sign formed the centre of the inscription; an inscription identical with that on right side runs from here towards the left.

261. RAMESSES II (Pl. LXXI)

E.E.F. copy, left untouched; no controls. Collated with the original on 22.4.1935.

Portion of a stela, 67 × 54 cm. Copy marked 'Stump of stela west of south side of S. shrine', where S. probably stands for Sopdu. In 1935 it was lying in the Approach to Sopdu.

At the top are the beginnings of three horizontal lines of inscription of which nothing can be made. Below is a space in which nothing is visible, and below this again a figure of '*The royal envoy, captain of bowmen, a Amenemôpe*' standing in adoration before the cartouche of '*The king of Upper and Lower Egypt [Usimarrê Setepenrê]*'. The vertical lines of inscription on the left begin: '*Behold, his majesty, L.P.H., sent the commander of bowmen of the Well (of) Rameses Meriamûn, Amenemôpe - - - - - offerings - - - - -*'. We have already met with Amenemôpe in 247, 252, and 260. There is a much defaced text on the back of the fragment.

262

Is south edge of 247; see the latter.

263. RAMESSES II (Pl. LXXII)

For the bibliography see PORTER-MOSS, VII, 357. E.E.F. copies, collated with the original which is now in the B.M., no. 587 [697].

Inscriptions from various parts of a statue of Rameses II fully described in P. R., pp. 128-9, and figs. 136-7. Found in the Portico.

Base front and right. '*Life to the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, ruling like Rê, lord of the two lands, Usimarrê Setepenrê, son of Rê, lord of risings, Rameses Meriamûn, like Rê.*'

Base front and left. '*Life to the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, ruling the nine bows, lord of the two lands, Usimarrê Setepenrê, son of Rê, lord of risings, Rameses Meriamûn, endowed with life.*'

Plinth and back of base. '*- - - - Rameses Meriamûn, the god merciful of face, b creating the breath (of life), beloved of Iusaat.*' These words occur without any variant in both the vertical lines on the plinth. On the base below is '*Beloved of Hathor, lady of the turquoise, beloved of Thoth, lord of Punt.*'

Base, top. '*Lord of the two lands, Usimarrê Setepenrê, beloved of Hathor, lady of the turquoise, lord of risings, Rameses Meriamûn, beloved of Thoth, lord of Punt.*'

Front of apron. '*Lord of the two lands, [Usi]marrê Setepenrê, lord of risings, Rameses Meriamûn, endowed with life.*'

On the shaft of a sceptre '*- - - - like his father Tatjenen, king of Upper and Lower Egypt, lord of the two lands, Rameses Meriamûn, beloved of Iusaat and endowed with life.*'

Left side. Gracefully executed figure of the '*King's daughter, c great king's wife Bintanat, d living eternally.*'

263 A. RAMESSES II (Pl. LXXII, completed in the accompanying fig. 14)

For the bibliography see PORTER-MOSS, VII, 357. Traced from E.E.F. and Brussels Museum photographs. Now in the Brussels Museum, E. 5012.

Group of statues of Rameses and Hathor, 107 cm. high, found in the Portico (P. R., p. 129). On the spectator's left is the king wearing a pleated and fringed apron on which is inscribed: '*- - -*

^a Read  for .

^b *en hr* (Wb. I, 190, 13).

^c The feminine ending *t* has been omitted.

^d  is a mistake for .

[*Usimarrē*] *Setepenrē*, lord of risings, *Ramesses Meriamūn*, beloved of *Hathor*, lady of the turquoise'. On the right is the goddess, holding in her right hand the king's left hand. On the background between the two figures we read on the top between the heads '*Lord of the two lands Usimarrē Setepenrē*, (beloved of) ^a *Hathor*, lady of the turquoise', and at the bottom under their joined hands '*Lord of risings, Ramesses Meriamūn*, endowed with life'. On the back pillar, on the side of the goddess '*Lord of the two lands*

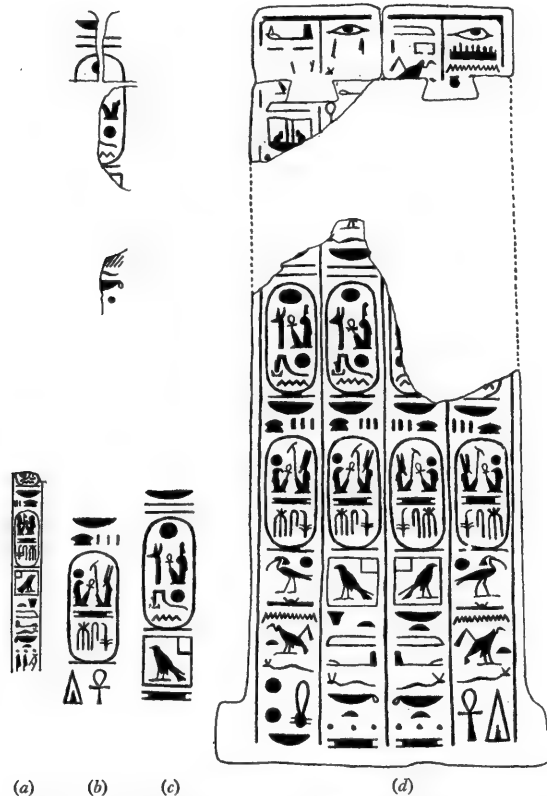


FIG. 14. Inscriptions of the group of statues no. 263 A: (a) on king's apron, (b) between king and goddess, (c) on left beside the goddess, (d) at the back. (Scale $\frac{1}{2}$.)

Usimarrē Setepenrē, beloved of *Hathor*'. At the back of the back pillar, there are four lines:^b ¹ 'May she give [millions] of sed-festivals [to her son (?)], lord of the two lands *Usimarrē Setepenrē*, lord of risings *Ramesses-Meriamūn*, who pleases his mother like *Rē* every day ² May he make - - his - -, lord of the two lands (king's names as in l. 1), beloved of *Hathor*, mistress of the turquoise ³ In the House of [his] mother - - - - - (king's names as in l. 1), beloved of *Hathor*, lady of the turquoise, ⁴ Who made a monument - - - - - (king's names as in l. 1), who pleases his mother, endowed with life.'

The upper part of the figure of the king, the face of *Hathor*, and her left arm are missing.

^a *Mry* omitted through lack of space.

^b Lines 1 and 2 turned to the left, lines 3 and 4 to the right. Perhaps to be read in the order 4, 3, 1, 2.

Fig. 146, 11, and p. 140. Fragment of a glazed cup.

Fig. 147, 3 and 4, and p. 140. Pieces of glazed bowls, the former in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, E. 3333.

Fig. 149, 6, and p. 143. Fragments of a glazed bracelet with the double cartouche.

Fig. 150, 7, and p. 145. Pieces of a rough glazed wand with the sacred eye and one cartouche, now in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, E. 3322.

Fig. 151, 2, and p. 145. Portion of a glazed ring-stand with double cartouche.

Seven fragments are now in Brussels, E. 2057, 3092, 2174, 2007, 2006, and 1989, see SPELEERS, *Recueil d'inscriptions égyptiennes*, p. 99, nos. 395-400, and three fragments are in Bristol Museum, H. 3248-50.

266. MENEPTAH (Pl. LXIX)

WEILL, *Recueil*, no. 117.

Copied from Survey photograph (*Survey*, III, 8). Not seen again in 1935.

Inscription from a door jamb, probably that mentioned in P. R., pp. 78 and 108: 'The door [between H and J] had been repaired by Merenptah, who inscribed the northern jamb.'

'King of Upper and Lower Egypt, ruler of Egypt (?)^a lord of the two lands, Baenrē Meriamūn, son of Rē, lord of risings, -----.'

267. MENEPTAH (Pl. LXXIII)

E.E.F. copy; no controls. Collated with the original on 14.4.1935; it was then found lying south of 115 and south-east of 199.

Badly defaced round-topped stela, 84 × 41 cm., perhaps identical with the stela mentioned in P. R., p. 108: 'Merenptah inscribed the doorway to chamber J, and put in a stele.'

In the upper register was a scene in which the king on the right made an offering to 'Hathor, lady of the turquoise' on the left. The horizontal lines of inscription below gave the full titulary of the king: '|¹ - - - [Horus] "Victorious bull", rejoicing (in) dominion |² - - - - - king [of Upper] and Lower Egypt, ruler of Egypt and of the nine bows, |³ - - - - - Baen[rē]-Meriamūn, living son of Rē |⁴ - - - - - [Me]ne[ptah]-Hetephermaret, endowed with life for ever |⁵ - - - - -.'

267 A. MENEPTAH

No E.E.F. copy available.

Hindmost portion of a sphinx in sandstone (10 cm. in height), now in the National Museum of Science and Art, Dublin, the authorities of which institution have kindly furnished us with excellent photographs.

The sphinx was mounted on a rectangular base, cut in the same piece of stone, and inscribed on the three remaining sides. Of these inscriptions the following is still legible:

Right side. '- - - - - Baen[rē] Meriamūn, son of Rē, lord of risings, Meneptah Hetephermaret ----- in peace.'

Left side. '- - - - - lord of the two lands, Baenrē Meriamūn; son of Rē, lord of risings, Meneptah Hetephermaret -----.'

Back. Almost completely broken away. A fragment of one corner which still remains shows that it was inscribed.

^a Reading .

268. SETHOS II

For full bibliography see PORTER-MOSS, VII, 364.

The inscribed minor objects of this king number 28 in all (P. R., p. 149). Two fragments of glazed vases now in the B.M. are recorded by WEILL, *Recueil*, nos. 135-6. The most important of the remainder are noted below. The references are to P. R.:

Fig. 146, 12, and p. 140. Fragment of a glazed cup. The titulary given is 'Lord of the two lands, *Usikheperurêr Setepenrêr*; lord of risings, *Seti Merenptah*, [beloved] of Hathor, mistress of the turquoise'.

Fig. 147, 5, and pp. 140-1. Piece of a glazed bowl, with both cartouches, bordered on either side by the sign of multiples of years.

Fig. 148, 15, and pp. 142-3. Piece of a menat in glazed composition with the cartouche '*Usikheperurêr Setepenrêr*'.

Fig. 149, 7, and p. 143. Four pieces of a glazed bracelet with the titulary 'Lord of the two lands, *Usikheperurêr Setepenrêr*, son of *Rêr*, *Seti Meryptah*, [beloved] of Hathor, mistress of the turquoise'.

Fig. 151, 19, and p. 147. Fragment of a glazed sistrum. 'Lord of the two lands, *Seti Merenptah*, beloved of Hathor, mistress of the turquoise.'

A further fragment is in Brussels, E. 2175, cf. SPELEERS, *Recueil d'inscriptions égyptiennes*, p. 99, no. 401.

269. SETHOS II (Pl. LXIII)

For bibliography see PORTER-MOSS, VII, 351.

E.E.F. copy, collated with and added to from E.E.F. and Survey photographs, the latter taken when the pylon was in much better condition than it now is, but not showing the later additions on the right. Not found again in 1935.

Under this number are classed the scenes and inscriptions of Seti II on the older pylon of Tuthmosis III. These consist apparently of three parts whose interrelation cannot now be discerned:

1. The cartouches '*Seti Meryptah*' and ' - - - - [Setep]enrêr Meriamûn' in front of the knees of the figure of Tuthmosis III.

2. A damaged figure whose head is not visible, directly below the figure of Tuthmosis. To this may have referred the three hieroglyphic signs between the legs of Tuthmosis.

3. The scene and inscriptions in the right-hand bottom corner, less the very small figure, which is a later addition. The scene shows the '*King's son, great overseer of - - - - -^a Usirêr - - - - , - - - - king of Upper and Lower Egypt, smiting the nine bows, lord of the two lands - - - -*'.

270. TAWOSRET

The inscribed small objects of this reign number 30 (P. R., p. 149).

WEILL, *Recueil*, no. 142, notices a piece of a bracelet of glazed ware in the B.M., the cartouche on which should perhaps be read 'Lord of the two lands *Sitrêr Meriamûn*'.

Of the objects found by the E.E.F. expedition the following are the most important; the references are to P. R.:

Fig. 146, 13, and p. 140. Fragment of a glazed cup inscribed 'Lord of the two lands, *Sitrêr Meriamûn*, [beloved of] Hathor, lady of the turquoise'.

Fig. 148, 14, and p. 142. Piece of a glazed menat inscribed '*Sitrêr Meriamûn*'.

^a Perhaps 'the army' (*mšr*).

Fig. 149, 8, 9, 16, and 17, and pp. 143-4. Fragments of glazed bracelets, two of the broad and two of the narrow type, each with a single cartouche, no. 8 giving 'Lord of risings, *Tawosret Setepenmūt*'.

Fig. 151, 3, and p. 146. Portion of a glazed composition ring-stand with the cartouches '*Sitrēr Meriamūn*' and '*Tawosret Setepenmūt*'.

271. SETNAKHT (Pl. LXXIII)

For bibliography see PORTER-MOSS, VII, 350.

E.E.F. copy, nothing added; compared with the Lottinograph, on which nothing more is visible. Collated with the original on 4.4.1935.

Large round-topped stela, 173 × 68 cm., which originally stood on the south (right) side of the entrance to the temple. See P. R., p. 75, and our Pl. XCII. Found lying in 1930.

In the lunette is the winged disk of the '*Horus Behdetite*' and in the space between the uraei the name '*Usikhacurēr^a Meriamūn*'. Below the king offers to Hathor. In front of him are cartouches which have almost disappeared. Beneath the scene is the full titulary of the king. '|¹ Year ----- the Horus, "Victorious bull, great of might"; |² two goddesses "-----", golden Horus "The nine bows |³ -----, the good ruler, strong of might, lord of strength, |⁴ lord of the two lands ----- lord of [risings] *Setnakht Mererrēr Meriamūn*.' Below, two persons whose names are *Amen(em)ōpe* and *Sety* adore the cartouches of the king '*Setnakht Mererrēr Meriamūn Usi[kharu Meri]amūn [Setepenrēr]*'.

It is regrettable that so little is preserved of the inscription since the full titulary of Setnakht would be very valuable (see GAUTHIER, *Le livre des rois*, III, 152-5).

272. RAMESSES III

For full bibliography see PORTER-MOSS, VII, 364.

The inscribed minor objects of this reign are 45 in number (P. R., p. 149). WEILL, *Recueil*, nos. 137-9, records three of them, two being fragments of vases and the third probably a piece of a wand, bracelet, or menat. No. 137 gives the two cartouches '*Lord of the two lands, Ramesses Heḫōn*' and '*Lord of risings, Usimacrēr Meriamūn*'.

Of those figured by Petrie the most important are as follows, the references being to P. R.:

Fig. 146, 14, and p. 140. Fragment of a glazed cup, inscribed with the two cartouches as above.

Fig. 147, 6 and 7, and p. 141. Two small fragments of coarse glazed composition bowls.

Fig. 149, 10, 18, and 19, and p. 143. Pieces of three bracelets of glazed ware, one of the wide and two of the narrow type. No. 19 still bears both cartouches.

Fig. 150, 8, and p. 145. Fragment of a glazed wand with the two cartouches.

Fig. 151, 20, and p. 147. Piece of the handle of a glazed sistrum with the two cartouches as above.

Some of them are perhaps identical with the fragments in Brussels, E. 2011, 2058, 1990, and 2010 (SPELEERS, *Recueil d'inscriptions égyptiennes*, p. 99, nos. 403-5 and 412).

273. RAMESSES III. YEAR 23 (Pl. LXXIII)

For bibliography see PORTER-MOSS, VII, 350.

E.E.F. copy; no controls. Not found again in 1935.

Round-topped stela, 79 × 48 cm., found in the south-west corner of Chamber A (P. R., p. 76).

^a *Rēr* expressed by the sun disk just above.

In the lunette the king offers two small vases to Hathor. Before him are his titles and names 'King of Upper and Lower Egypt, *Usimacrē Meriamūn, son of Rē, Ramesses Ḥekōn*'. Before the goddess is 'Hathor, mistress of the turquoise'. The main inscription reads: '1 Year 23. Life to Horus, "Victorious bull, great of kingship"; the two goddesses, 2 "Great of sed-festivals like Tatjenen"; golden Horus, "Mighty [in years] 3 like Atūm, the sovereign who protects Egypt and 4 binds the two foreign lands" (sic), king of Upper and Lower Egypt, lord of the two lands, *Usimacrē Meriamūn; son of Rē, 5 lord of risings, Ramesses [Meriamūn Ḥekōn, beloved of Hathor], mistress of the turquoise.*'

274. RAMESSES IV

The inscribed small objects of this king number only 11 (P. R., p. 149). The finest is in the B.M. no. 14953, described by Weill (*Recueil*, no. 140) as a fragment of a palette in composition. It bears the two sacred eyes and the two cartouches 'Lord of the two lands, *Usi* (sic) *marrē Setepenrē*' and 'Lord of risings, *Ramesses Meriamūn Ḥek* (sic) *maet*'.

Of those found by the E.E.F. expedition the most important are as follows, the references being to P. R.:

Fig. 148, 16, and p. 143. Upper part of a glazed menat inscribed 'Lord of the two lands, *Ḥekmacrē*'.

Fig. 149, 11, and p. 143. Fragment of a glazed composition bracelet of the narrow type, inscribed 'Life to the good god, king of Upper and Lower Egypt, lord of the two lands, *Ḥekmacrē* - - - - -'. The same inscription is repeated, running from left to right as well as from right to left.

Fig. 150, 9, and p. 145. Piece of a glazed wand with the cartouche 'Ḥekmacrē' surmounted by the twin feathers and disk. Now in Brussels, E. 2059, cf. SPELEERS, *Recueil d'inscriptions égyptiennes*, p. 99, no. 406.

275. RAMESSES IV. YEAR 5 (Pl. LXXIV)

E.E.F. copy, left untouched; no controls. Lower part of front and the back face found again in 1935 lying in the Sanctuary, and collated.

Large round-topped stela, 257 × 65 cm. No note of provenance on the copy and no mention in P. R. Two other copies of inscriptions in vertical columns were marked with the same number and rolled up with the copy of the face. This leads us to the inference that they are probably copies of the inscriptions on the edges of the same stela, an inference which their writing confirms. From the condition of the copy of the left column of the left edge in the plate it would appear that the stela was built into masonry at this point.

Front face

Probably inscribed over an older inscription (of XIIth Dynasty?) of which traces remain in ll. 3 and 4, left-hand end, and at the bottom in the upper halves of the cartouches.

In the lunette is the winged disk and a remnant of the cartouche *Ḥekmacrē*. In the panel below is a scene showing the king offering a white loaf to a goddess, doubtless Hathor, who says 'I am giving thee very many sed-festivals'. Below this is an inscription in 11 horizontal lines of large, well-cut hieroglyphs: '1 Year 5, second month of summer. Life to Horus 2 "Victorious [bull], living on truth, a lord of sed-festivals like his father Ptah Tatjenen," 3 king of Upper and Lower Egypt, *Ḥekmacrē*

* This writing, which occurs elsewhere, is shown by variants to read *ḥḥ m Mrt*.

Setepenrē, son of Rē,^a |⁴ *Ramesses Meriamūn, he of Maret,*^b *two goddesses, "Protector of Egypt, |⁵ curbing [the nine bows]"*, *lord of the two lands, Ḥekmaṛrē Setepenrē,* |⁶ *[son of Rē, Ramesses] Meriamūn, he of Maret, Horus of gold, "Rich in |⁷ years, [great in] victories"*, *king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Ḥekmaṛrē Setepenrē,* |⁸ *son of Rē, Ramesses Meriamūn, he of Maret, sovereign* |⁹ *who gave birth to the gods and created the two lands, |¹⁰ king of Upper and Lower Egypt, lord of the two lands, Ḥekmaṛrē Setepenrē, son of Rē,* |¹¹ *lord of risings, Ramesses Meriamūn, he of Maret, endowed with life like Rē.'*

Below this is a figure adoring the two cartouches 'Lord of the two lands, Ḥekmaṛrē Setepenrē' and 'Lord of risings, Ramesses Meriamūn, he of Maret'. In a vertical line is the date, 'Year 5, second month of summer, in victory, sending (?)' - - - - -'. The inscription over the figure is illegible both in the copy and on the original; the dedicator's name was a compound with -*hotep*.

Back face

This sheet was wrapped with two others, all three bearing the number 234. These three inscriptions have obviously no connexion one with the other. One is a Middle Kingdom inscription (our 145) the second is our 315. The third is shown by its date, its style, the size of its hieroglyphs, and by some rather confused pencil notes by Currelly to be the opposite face of the present stela.

On the left is a figure kneeling in adoration. The inscription reads: 'Year 5, second month of summer, in victory, [his majesty] sent (or commanded) - - - - - the king's - - - of the Treasury at the place - - - - -, true of voice.'




Edges


The copies are difficult to deal with in their present condition, but the originals may be accountable for some misspellings.


The inscription on the edge shown on the left in the plate reads as follows: '|¹ Hereditary prince and count, chancellor of the king of Lower Egypt, sole friend, watchful director in very truth, leader of the Horus in [his] house, - - - - - the palace - - - - - |² filling the storerooms with the child of the granaries (?)'.^d There is no other^e who has done what he has done among those who existed before, loading the Byblite^f ships with the produce^g of [every land] - - - - - |³ the delta, barley and spelt (?), twenty-five heaps, silver, gold, lapis lazuli, turquoise, pure (?) ivory without limit,^h provisioning (?) the - - - - - of the lord of the two lands in the city - - - - -'. The edge shown in our plate on the right has the figure of a man at the bottom. The fragments of inscription above him read '|¹ - - - - - watchful director without [equal (?)] - - - |² - - - - - following his lord in his footsteps - - - - - - - |³ - - - - - of Senendhout (?)ⁱ - - - - -'.

276. RAMESSES IV. YEAR 5 (Pl. LXXI)

E.E.F. copy; collated with original at the Exhibition (1905). Now in the Chadwick Museum, Bolton, no. 58.05.4.

^a The signs , like  just below them, are undoubtedly remnants of the earlier defaced inscription. The later scribe or sculptor, finding the space occupied, has omitted the  which we expect to find here.

^b For  *msty* in the name of this king see CHRISTOPHE, BIFAO 48 (1949), 6-7.




^c Read .

^d An extravagant periphrasis for corn (?).

^e Reading .

^f Read probably      , Wb. v, 118, 3-6.

^g   , *inv.*

^h   , *drw-sn*.

ⁱ This is quite possibly the name of the dedicator of the stela. For the name see RANKE, p. 310, 5.

Round-topped stela, 63 × 30 cm. No note of provenance. The scene represents the scribe Panūfe adoring Amūn. The inscriptions over the figures read '*Said by Amonrē, lord of the Thrones of the two lands*' and '*For the ka of the scribe and deputy of the army Panūfe*'.

The five lines of inscription below read, '*Year 5, second month of summer. His majesty ordered^a the building of the "Mansion of millions of years" of Ramesses Meriamūn Maraty in the estate of Hathor, lady of the turquoise, by the scribe of commands of the army Panūfe, son of Peroy, true of voice*'.

The chamber, the building of which is here recorded, is perhaps the Porch, which we know to have been due to this king (P. R., pp. 91, 108).

277. RAMESSES IV (Pl. LXXV)

For bibliography see PORTER-MOSS, VII, 354-5.

E.E.F. copy, compared with a photograph (*Survey*, III, 16, 3), in which the inscribed portion is not shown, and with an E.E.F. photograph (= P. R., fig. 125) which enables us to restore almost the whole of the fourth line from the bottom and to improve the copy in other respects. Seen in the Sanctuary in 1935, but not collated.

Round-topped stela forming part of the east wall of the sanctuary (P. R., p. 92 and fig. 125). See our Pl. XCII. The date in the lunette, '*Year 9*', cannot refer to Ramesses IV, who reigned only 6 years. It therefore seems probable that this is a re-used stela of earlier date, possibly Middle Kingdom, and the date was not erased. To the original inscriptions perhaps belong the few remnants of signs on the north edge.

West face

At the top is a figure of the king in the blue crown adoring or making an offering to Hathor. Below this are remains of 8 lines of inscription, and at least one line seems to have perished above these.

The inscription contained a full titulary of the king, for which compare 275. '----- [*son of Rē, Ramesses*] *Meriamūn Maraty, sovereign who gave birth to the gods and created the two lands, king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Ḥekmarēr Setepenēr, son of Rē, Ramesses Meriamūn Maraty. He made (it) as his monument to [his] mother Hathor, lady of the turquoise, that she might grant life (to) the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Ḥekmarēr Setepenēr, endowed with life eternally.*'

North edge

Remains of five horizontal lines of inscription discussed above.

278. RAMESSES IV (Pl. LXXVI)

E.E.F. copy controlled by an E.E.F. photograph. Not found again in 1935.

Scene and inscription of Ramesses IV in the Court on the outside wall of the Sanctuary. (See Pl. XCII and P. R., pp. 89-90 and fig. 107.) Dimensions 131 × 160 cm.

The scene, which is badly damaged, represents the king receiving a staff or sceptre of some kind from a god whose head is destroyed. Between the two figures are the words '*I am giving thee the kingship of Rē for ever*'. At the bottom are the name and titles of the king, which have in great part perished: '*King of Upper and Lower Egypt, lord of the two lands, Ḥekmarēr Setepenēr, - - - - -*'.

^a 𓏏𓏏, for the writing of which see 275, right edge, must stand for 𓏏𓏏. The verb 𓏏𓏏 'to send' would need a direct object of the person sent, and a 𓏏 before 𓏏𓏏.

279. RAMESSES IV (Pl. LXXVII)

For bibliography see PORTER-MOSS, VII, 354. E.E.F. copy collated with good E.E.F. photograph. Not seen again in 1935.

Scene from the inner wall of the Sanctuary. See Pl. XCII and P. R., p. 90 and fig. 108. Breadth 118 cm.

Above is the end of a partly destroyed line of inscription in large characters, '*endowed with life like Rē* [*eternally*]'. Below, the king, whose body has disappeared, offers a figure of Maet to Hathor. Between them is an altar with offerings and a lotus flower. In front of the king we read, '*Lord of the two lands, Ḥekmarēr Setepenrē, lord of risings, Ramesses Meriamūn, endowed with life like Rē*'. Behind Hathor is the cartouche of the king in larger characters, '*Ḥekmar[rē] Setepenrē, son of Rē* - - - - -' apparently belonging to another scene on the right, now lost.^a

280. RAMESSES IV (Pl. LXX)

E.E.F. copy; no controls. Not found again in 1935.

Portion of a pillar (according to marking on copy). No note of provenance. Its top is, however, just visible in P. R., fig. 108, in front of 279, from which we may justly infer that it was found on or near that spot in the Sanctuary. See Pl. XCII. Dimensions 87 × 26 cm.

'*King of Upper and Lower Egypt, lord of the two lands, Ḥekmarēr Setepenrē, son of Rē, lord [of risings]* - - - - -.'

281. RAMESSES IV (Pl. LXXI)

E.E.F. copy; no controls. Not found again in 1935.

Architrave, 27 × 82 cm. No note of provenance on the copy. '- - - - - Ḥekmarēr Setepenrē, beloved of Hathor, lady of the turquoise.'

In Petrie's rough list this inscription is described as 'Lintel in Hathor sanct'. This may give the correct provenance, but this lintel is not to be identified with the architraves of P. R., p. 91 (see 287), from which it differs both in measurements and in the arrangement of the inscription.

282. RAMESSES IV (Pl. LXXV A)

E.E.F. copy; no controls. Not found again in 1935.

Copy marked 'Block in outer sanctuary'. Dimensions 25 × 75 cm. The 'outer sanctuary' here referred to was a name at first given by the expedition to the room now known simply as the Sanctuary.

A portion of the head of a king wearing the blue crown is all that remains of the scene. Before the face are the cartouches '*Ḥekmarēr Setepenrē, Ramesses Meriamūn Maaty*'.

283. RAMESSES IV (Pl. LXXV)

For bibliography see PORTER-MOSS, VII, 364. E.E.F. copy; no controls. Not found again in 1935.

Portion of a broken lintel (proved by Petrie's rough list), 139 × 24 cm. The copy is marked 'Beam near 269' and 'Beam in front of 269', but as this inscription itself was numbered 269 by the E.E.F. expedition, and as no other copy bears the same number, the indication does not help. Weill, on the

^a The upper part of the body of a king can still be discerned on the E.E.F. photograph.

evidence of BIRCH, *Account*, notes: 'Temple, édifice de l'ouest, probablement à l'entrée occidentale même; gisant à terre.' The dimensions do not suit the lintel mentioned in P. R., p. 81.

'- - - son of Rêr, lord of risings, *Ramesses Meriamûn Maraty, beloved of Hathor, lady of the turquoise, and endowed with life.*'

284. RAMESSES IV (Pl. LXXII)

E.E.F. copy; no controls. Not found again in 1935.

Portion of a sculptured slab. The copy is marked 'North of 139', but as no inscription bearing this number was found among the copies handed over to us we are unable to locate the position.

On the right is a figure of Hathor (?). On the left are fragments of the cartouche of Ramesses IV and the words '- - - like Rêr' and '*beloved of [Hathor, lady of the] turquoise*'.

285. RAMESSES IV (Pl. LXXII)

E.E.F. copy; no controls. Not found again in 1935.

Inscription marked 'statue of a baboon, in sanctuary', 58 × 32 cm.

'*Lord of the two lands, Ḥekmaṛrê Setepenrê, beloved of Thoth, lord of Khmûn, lord of risings, Ramesses Meriamûn Maraty, beloved of [Thoth], lord of Khmûn, and endowed with life like Rêr.*'

The small fragment also marked 'baboon' may be a portion of this figure. It bears the title '*Lord of the two lands, Ḥekmaṛrê Setepenrê*'.

286. RAMESSES IV

No copy available.

Re-inscribed lintel from Room O. In P. R., p. 81, we find, in the description of Room O: 'A great lintel-beam remains here, near the west door. . . . The length of the lintel is 73 in., and the height 15 in. It was originally cut by Tahutmes III with fine, thin hieroglyphs; but later, Ramessu IV re-inscribed it in coarse, large signs.'

This inscription was apparently not copied (compare 197), unless it should be identified with 316, described in Petrie's rough list as 'Ramesses IV lintel over Tuthmosis III (?)', though the measurements of this latter, 59 × 15 in., do not agree. We should then have to postulate an error of measurement in the rough list.

287. RAMESSES IV

No copy available.

Architraves from the roofed portion along the south side of the Sanctuary. See Pl. XCII. These are described in P. R., p. 91, as follows: 'The architraves of this roofing remain, marking a span of 40 in., with 13 in. built into the wall The inscriptions are of Ramessu IV, reading symmetrically from the middle to each end of the architrave, and also on the pillars.'

The inscriptions do not seem to have been copied.

288. RAMESSES IV

No copies available.

Various inscriptions from the Porch.

In the description of the Porch, P. R., p. 91, we read: 'The Porch . . . was built by Ramessu IV,

whose cartouche is on the stump of the front jamb to the south of the door.' Of this jamb we appear to have no copy.

The cornice over the Porch is also described in the same passage, its dimensions being given as $73 \times 18 \times 36$ in. It is not definitely stated to have been inscribed, but in Petrie's rough list is the entry 'Ramesses II, cornice of Porch, 73 by 18'. Was this cornice really inscribed by Ramesses II, or is II a slip of the pen for IV? The latter is the probable solution as Ramesses IV is clearly stated to have built the Porch. We have no copy of this inscription, and the pencil note 'draw' appended to the entry in the rough list makes it probable that it was never copied.

289. RAMESSES V

Only six inscribed small objects of this reign were found at Serâbîṭ (P. R., p. 149). Of these two are figured P. R., fig. 149, 12 and 20, and p. 143. Both are fragments of glazed composition bracelets bearing the cartouche *Usimacrê Sekheperenrê*. One is of broad and the other of narrow shape. The latter is now in Brussels, E. 2012, cf. SPELEERS, *Recueil d'inscriptions égyptiennes*, p. 99, no. 402.

290. RAMESSES VI

Only two small inscribed objects of this reign have survived (P. R., p. 149). Of these one is figured in P. R., fig. 149, 13, and p. 143. It is a fragment of a narrow bracelet of glazed composition on which the cartouche *Nebmarrê Meriamûn* is visible.

291. RAMESSES VI (Pl. LXXIII)

For bibliography see PORTER-MOSS, VII, 353. E.E.F. copies, not very complete; controlled by an E.E.F. photograph. Not found again in 1935.

Inscriptions on square pillars in Chamber O (P. R., p. 108 and fig. 112).

Both pillars bore a similar inscription on the east face: '*King of Upper and Lower Egypt, lord of the two lands, Nebmarrê Meriamûn; son of Rê, Ramesses Meriamûn Neterhehôn.*'^a

292. RAMESSES VI (Pl. LXIX)

E.E.F. copy; no controls. Not found again in 1935.

Portion of an inscription (89×19 cm.) from one of the chambers, probably O. On one side of the sheet is written 'north wall' and on the other 'south wall'. Petrie's rough list gives only 'wall'.

'*Nebmarrê Meriamûn* - - - - - many - - - - - sed-festivals - - - - -.'

293. RAMESSES VI (Pl. LXXII)

E.E.F. copy; no means of control. Found again in 1935 and collated.

Round-topped stela, 71×70 cm. No note of provenance; de Buck saw it 'between 100 and 106', but the position of the latter itself is uncertain.

In the lunette is the winged disk, from which hangs the king's name, *Nebmarrê Meriamûn*, superimposed on an erased cartouche according to a note on the copy. Below is a scene representing the king worshipping Hathor, while above his head is a sun disk with two uraei and the word '*Behdetite*'. Before the king is his name, now almost illegible, in the cartouche; before the goddesses are the words '[*Hathor*], lady of the turquoise'. The rest of the stela has perished.

^a In the copy of the south pillar (b) the word 'defaced' is written immediately below the upper cartouche. It is true that the next group of signs is defaced, but below these the second cartouche is perfectly legible in the photograph.

294. XIX-XXTH DYNASTY. UNKNOWN KING. YEAR 5 (Pl. LXXII)

E.E.F. copy; collated at the Exhibition (1905). Present whereabouts unknown. Lower portion of a stela, 21 × 33 cm. Provenance not stated.

'Year 5, second (?) month of the summer season, in victory (?),^a the sending^b of the commander of bowmen, overseer of the foreign lands (?) *Usikharu*, true of voice, [of the lord] (?) of the two lands^c on his very great expedition^d (??) [to?] all lands - - - - -.'

295. XIX-XXTH DYNASTY (Pl. LXXVI)

E.E.F. copy untouched; apparently collated at the exhibition (1905). Now in the Maclean Museum, Greenock, no. 42.

Round-topped stela, 53 × 32 cm. Provenance not marked.

In the upper part is a figure of a man adoring 'Hathor, lady of the turquoise' and holding out to her a flower. Over and behind the man we read: 'For the ka of the royal scribe, greatest of Five, *Setnakht*,^e [of?] the Tract of Rêr-Tjenen of Thebes,^f son of the district officer *Abpedjet*,^g true of voice.'

Below are two kneeling women with long full robes and lotus flowers on their heads, and the words 'For the ka of the singer of Thoth *Taybēs*; (her?) daughter, the singer of (Thoth) *Tarakhy*'.

296. XIX-XXTH DYNASTY (Pl. LXXVI)

E.E.F. copy; no controls. Collated with the original on 31.3.1935.

Inscription, 42 × 57 cm., cut in the rock above the chapel of Sopdu.

On the left is a figure of a man adoring; in front of and above him are remains of ten vertical lines of inscription:

'¹ [Year x, - - - month of] winter season, day 2. His majesty, L.P.H., ordered to be entrusted to the hereditary prince |² - - - - - king. There was nothing of which he had to remind him (?). He placed (him) at the head of [his] troops |³ - - - - - of the lord of the two lands, in every place which he trod |⁴ - - - - - true - - - - - of his lord, overseer of foreign lands, chief of the *Madjoi* |⁵ - - - - - distinguish every kind of precious stone of the eastern country of the |⁶ - - - - - Now Sopdu, lord of the east, and Hathor, mistress |⁷ - - - - - every |⁸ - - - - - introduce |⁹ - - - - - son of (?) |¹⁰ - - - - -.'

The chief of the *Madjoi* here mentioned may be the *Setnakht* of 305 (see this) and possibly of 295 and 301.


297. XIX-XXTH DYNASTY (Pl. LXXVII)


E.E.F. copy; no controls. Present whereabouts unknown.

Fragment of a stela, 15 × 13 cm. Provenance not given.


Above are remains of a representation of a man standing on the right and adoring a god on the left. Below are fragments of two horizontal lines: '¹ Praise to thee, O Rêr - - - - - |² - - - overseer of foreign lands of the lord of the two lands^b - - - - -.'

^a Read  and compare 275, face, bottom.


^b For the writing  see 275, 276. Should we restore ¹ after it?




^c Read  and compare 297?

^d For  or  as a noun see 302.

^e Compare 301 and read .

^f Undoubtedly different from *Pi rwd n p; Rr*, the eastern border of the Delta, for which see GAUTHIER, *Dict. géogr.* III, 134.

^g Compare 301 and read .

^h Read  or  []?

298. XIX-XXTH DYNASTY. [RAMESSES II.] YEAR 33 (Pl. LXXVII)

E.E.F. copy; collated with the original. Mentioned in P. R., p. 129.

Inscription on the back of the bust of a queen in hard sandstone, now in the Manchester University Museum (no. 982). 36 × 15 cm.

'Year 33, the good god, lord of sed-festivals -----.'

299. XIX-XXTH DYNASTY (Pl. LXXXI)

E.E.F. copy; no controls, but no corrections noted by de Buck.

Round-topped stela. Provenance not stated; de Buck saw it near 100 in 1930.

Male figure in costume of the Ramesside period offering to, or adoring, Hathor, *'lady of the turquoise'*.

300. XIX-XXTH DYNASTY (Pl. LXXVII)

E.E.F. copy, controlled at the Exhibition (1905). Now in the Maclean Museum, Greenock, no. 43.

Portion (18 × 15 cm.) of a round-topped stela. It shows the figure of a man standing in adoration before *'Amūn, lord of the Thrones of the two lands, (of) the House of Sesu'*.^a

301. XIX-XXTH DYNASTY. UNKNOWN KING. YEAR 3 (Pl. LXXVII)

E.E.F. copy; no controls. Present whereabouts unknown.

Round-topped stela with a portion missing at the top, 69 × 58 cm.

On the right is the figure of *'Setnakht, son of 'Abpedjet, true of voice'*. The inscription, of nine vertical lines, is mostly illegible in the copy. It is dated in the *'Year 3, third month of winter season'*, and begins *'His majesty sent (or "commanded") his beloved -----'*, for which compare 275, 276, 294, and 302. The official is further described as *'----- of mankind, with pure fingers, keen of wit,^b precise'* (l. 5). The name Setnakht, son of 'Abpedjet, occurs again in the third line from the end. For this official compare 295.

302. XIX-XXTH DYNASTY. UNKNOWN KING. YEAR 3 (Pl. LXXV)

E.E.F. copy, collated at the Exhibition (1905) and again in 1954 at the Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven, where the original now is (No. 28.53). A photograph in PIJOÁN, *Summa Artis*, III (1945), fig. 286.

Round-topped stela, 70 × 51 cm. On the left is the figure of a man standing in adoration. The inscription reads: *'Year 3, third month of summer season, his majesty ordered his praised one, his beloved, who fills the heart of his lord, overseer of the treasury of gold and of silver, over the secrets of the august palace, Sebekhotep, true of voice, to bring for him all that his heart desired (of) turquoise, at his fourth expedition. He said before his lord: The spirits of Pe and Nekhen rejoice for thee; all that the sun disk embraces praises thee -----'*^d *The king's butler Sebekhotep, true of voice.'*

303. XIX-XXTH DYNASTY (Pl. LXXV)

E.E.F. copy; collated with the original.

Rectangular stela of red sandstone, 41 × 26 cm., now in the Manchester University Museum

^a On the *rt* (n) *Ssw*, the first station on the military road from Tjaru (el-Ḳantara) to Palestine, see GAUTHIER, *Dict. géogr.* I, 162-3.

^b *Twr qbr, ip qtf*; for the latter see GARDINER, *Egyptian*

Hieratic Texts, I, 6*, n. 9.

^c The original favours $\overline{\text{m}}\overline{\text{h}}$ instead of $\overline{\text{m}}\overline{\text{h}}$ (*mḥ ib*).

^d One recognizes *'He who joined the family . . . name'*, but the meaning is obscure.

(no. 981), on which is the figure of a man in a long apron holding up a standard. The inscription runs: *'The making of praise to Hathor, mistress of the turquoise, lady of heaven, mistress of the two lands, that she may give a happy lifetime, a body of joy, and pleasure of heart in the course of the day*
 ----- *king, Rarmose, [He] made (it) for (?) his lord* -----.'

On the other side of the stela are fragmentary remains of a vertical line of inscription of which little is visible except the figure '300'.

304. XIX-XXTH DYNASTY. RAMESSES (NUMBER UNKNOWN). YEAR 4 (Pl. LXXVIII)

E.E.F. copies, no controls. Not found again in 1935.

Fragment of a large round-topped, free-standing stela. Provenance not stated.

The copies include three sheets. Two are clearly copies of the faces of the stela, though there is no note as to their direction. The third is a fragment marked 'S. side'. This obviously does not come from an edge, and some jottings by Petrie on the sheet suggest that he had doubts, on looking through the material, as to whether this inscription belonged to the stela at all, though in his rough list he includes this sheet with the other two.

In the lunette of face (b) was the name of a *Ramesses* under the winged disk with uraei. The rest of this face has perished.

On face (a) was an inscription in six or possibly seven vertical lines, now almost completely destroyed, dated in 'Year 4, second month of summer', and mentioning a 'King's butler' ($\text{𓅓} \text{𓅓}$). This inscription, according to a note on the copy, was recut on an older stela.

The fragment (c), if indeed it belongs to this stela at all, must come from farther down on face (b). Judging by its style and its mention of a $\text{𓅓} \text{𓅓}$ * it should belong to the original Middle Kingdom inscriptions of the stela.

305. XIX-XXTH DYNASTY (Pl. LXXVIII)

E.E.F. copy; no controls. Not found again in 1935.

Portion of a stela, 43×37 cm., marked 'by front of sanctuary, not removed'.

Figure of a man adoring. The fragments of inscription run: '----- the scribe Tjaro, [true of voice, chief of] the Madjoi Setnakht, true of voice.'

This is quite probably the Setnakht of 295 and 301. Is this man to be identified with the $\text{𓅓} \text{𓅓}$ $\text{𓅓} \text{𓅓}$, 'Chief of the Madjoi' of 296?

306. XIX-XXTH DYNASTY (Pl. LXXVIII)

E.E.F. copy; no controls. Not found again in 1935.

Small round-topped stela, 40×22 cm.

Figure of a man offering incense and a libation of water to '[Hathor], lady of the turquoise'. The man is a 'stone cutter', but his name is not legible.

307. TO BE DELETED

Parts of the stela of Ramesses II, 252, inadvertently repeated in the first edition of the Plate volume.

* This title does not occur at Sinai after the XIIth Dynasty.

308. XIX-XXTH DYNASTY (Pl. LXXIX)

For bibliography see PORTER-MOSS, VII, 365. E.E.F. copy; collated with the original.

Round-topped stela, 38 × 26 cm., now in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford (no. E. 714). Provenance not stated.

The scene represents a male figure holding three lotus flowers and adoring the god Sêtekḥ who is represented wearing a tall conical cap with a long rope-like tassel flowing to the ground at the back, and two short horns of a gazelle in front.^a Before him are the words '*An offering-which-the-king-gives (to) Sêtekḥ, great of might*'. In front of the man is '*Mentutauinakḥt*'.^b Below are two lines of inscription: '*Made by the royal messenger to all lands, the deputy of the commander of the army (?)*',^c *Mentutauinakḥt, true of voice eternally and for ever.*'

309. XIX-XXTH DYNASTY (Pl. LXXVII)

E.E.F. copy untouched; no controls. Not found again in 1935.

Fragment of the edge of a stela (?), 58 × 12 cm. The copy is marked 'On south face below 36, east of 35'. Now 35 is the number given by the E.E.F. expedition to the stela now known to us as 112, but we have no copy numbered 36. Thus all that the indications enable us to say is that the inscription comes from the Porch.

The restoration of the name as '*Mentuta[u]nakḥt, true of voice*' is beyond doubt. For this man see 308.

310. XVIIITH(?) DYNASTY (Pl. LXXIV)

E.E.F. copy; no controls. Collated with the original and completed on 21.4.1935.

Fragment of an architrave, 17 × 66 cm.^d Provenance not given; found lying in the Shrine of the Kings in 1935.

Face (a)

'--- Hathor, lady of the turquoise, making for her a storeroom and constructing [for] her a floor^e and columns - - - -.'

Face (b)^f

'- - - - this hall as a stretch^g (?) of kbyt-stones so that he may make given-life, stability and dominion, that his heart may be joyful and that [he may be] healthy - - - -.'

There can be no doubt that this inscription belongs to the same milieu as the three pieces which form 317. The content of the inscription, the sizes of the band and of the hieroglyphs agree exactly. But there is further evidence. Petrie, in his rough list, does not mention this inscription (his 274), but under his 115 he groups four sheets, three of which agree perfectly in measurement with our 317 and 317 A, while the fourth has precisely the dimensions of the fragment under discussion.

^a For this representation of Sêtekḥ see *PSBA* 16, 87-91. The cap with tassel and horns is worn by various Semitic gods, see GRDSELOFF, *Les débuts du culte de Rechef en Égypte* (Cairo, 1942), pp. 16-20.

^b For this man see 309.

^c Read *idmo*  ??

^d The total height of the architrave is 25 cm.

^e See 317 A.

^f For this face compare 317 (b).

^g *Pg?*

311. XIX-XXTH DYNASTY^a (Pl. LXXVIII)

E.E.F. copy; no controls. Portion of a pillar inscription, 59 × 26 cm. No note of provenance; not found again in 1935. '----- *Setepenrê, Son of Rê, lord of risings* -----
rê -----.'

312. XVIIITH (?) DYNASTY (Pl. LXXVIII)

E.E.F. copy; no controls. Not found again in 1935. Portion of a block from the Hathor Ḥanafiyah (?), 28 × 65 cm. '---- *Hathor, lady of good colour,*^b *as (?)* ----.'

A pencil note adds: 'On the other side is only *𓆎*.' This looks as if the block has been part of an architrave, in which case it should be compared with **310** and **317** which have approximately the same height.

313. XVIIITH DYNASTY (Pl. LXXVIII)

E.E.F. copy; no means of control. Collated with the original on 9.4.1935.

Portion of a lintel,^c 23 × 87 cm. No note of provenance.

'*Beloved of [Hathor, lady of the] turquoise, [beloved of] Hathor, lady of Tpêhu*' -----.'

314. DATE DOUBTFUL (Pl. LXXIX)

E.E.F. copy; no controls. Not found again in 1935.

Fragments of a cornice marked 'Hatshepsut chapel' and 'near 92'. Now 'Hatshepsut chapel' was the name first given by the expedition to the Shrine of the Kings, and 92 was the original number of our **137**, which lies just north of it. Moreover, an E.E.F. photograph of our **92**, which is just to the east of **137**, shows the fragment (b) lying just outside the Shrine of the Kings. See Pl. XCII.

(a) '---- *He made (it) as his monument to* -----.'

(b) '----- *like Rê eternally and for ever.*'

315. XVIIITH (?) DYNASTY (Pl. LXXIX)

E.E.F. copy; no controls. Not found again in 1935.

This copy was wrapped up with two others, all three being numbered 232. Of the other two one is obviously the back face of **275** and the other is a Middle Kingdom inscription, now numbered **145**. The present copy is marked in Currelly's hand 'inner side of jamb' and 'see outer side'. We have no suggestion to offer as to its provenance.

'----- [*P*]*taḥ-[Sok]ar-Osiris, that he may give voice-offerings of bread and beer, flesh and fowl, and every good thing, for the ka of his mother's brother Sêtekhmosê.*' Below is a seated man smelling a flower.

316. DOUBTFUL DATE (Pl. LXXIX)

For bibliography see PORTER-MOSS, VII, 365. E.E.F. copy; no controls. Not found again in 1935.

Lintel block, 38 × 146 cm., twice inscribed. The older inscription runs 'Year 16 under the majesty

^a Attributed to Ramesses II in Petrie's rough list, on what evidence is not clear. Possibly it was found in conjunction with other work of this king.



^b Refers to the colour of the turquoise. See above, p. 8,

and 126.

^c So Petrie's rough list.

^d Modern Atfiḥ.

of', and in the second line, running symmetrically to the right and to the left, '*Life to the good god, lord of the two lands ----- endowed with life eternally. Said by -----*.' The later inscription reads: '*Life to the good god, king of Upper and Lower Egypt, ruler of -----*', this last in much larger hieroglyphs.

Under 286 we have discussed the possibility of identifying this lintel with that described in P. R., p. 81. It may perhaps be added as additional evidence in favour of this attribution that Petrie possibly understood the last two signs on the right of the larger inscription, , as the beginning of the cartouche of , Ramesses IV. This would explain his attributing the later inscription to this king.

317, 317 A. XVIIITH (?) DYNASTY (Pl. LXXIX)

WEILL, *Recueil*, no. 159 (useless copies by Palmer of (a) and (b)).

E.E.F. copies; no controls; collated with the originals and completed on 14.4.1935.

Two portions of architraves, marked 'South wall'. Provenance unknown.

317 (a). '*----- making for [her] a hall of columns in hard stone, which his majesty made -----*'

The opposite face (b) '*----- stretch of kbyt-stones which the king of Upper and Lower Egypt ----- made -----*'.

317 A (a). '*----- constructing for her a floor and columns in hard stone when he was as -----*' (b) Opposite face: '*----- for Hathor, lady of the turquoise, guest at the, * mistress of eastern countries -----*' Found lying south of 199 in 1935. The fragment is 86 cm. long and 26 cm. high, the width of the line of inscription being 17 cm.

These inscriptions refer to the construction of some part of the temple, doubtless the room in which they were found, and it is regrettable that we have no record of their exact provenance. It is quite probable that 310 belongs to the same group. For the evidence in support of this see under that number. For two further fragments see 199 and 415.

318. XVIIITH (?) DYNASTY (Pl. LXXXII)

E.E.F. copy; no control. Collated with the original on 12.4.1935.

Door jamb in the Hathor Hanafiyah, found lying in three fragments by the side of 136 in 1935.

'----- living, beloved of Hathor, lady of the turquoise.' The Old Perfective 'living' is in feminine; the reference is therefore presumably to Hatshepsut.

319. XVIIITH (?) DYNASTY (Pl. LXXXII)

E.E.F. copy; no controls. Not found again in 1935.





Door jamb, provenance not stated, 70 × 14 cm. '*----- beloved of [Hathor, lady of the tur]quoise, like Rer for ever.*'

320. TUTHMOSIS III (?) (Pl. LXXIX)

E.E.F. copy; no controls. Not found again in 1935.

Portion of an architrave (so Petrie in his rough list, where he assigns it to Ramesses IV!), 27 × 72 cm.; provenance not given.

'*Twin goddesses "Abiding of kingdom" - - -*', which is a part of the royal protocol of Tuthmosis III.

* See, however, 120, where the determinative  would guarantee that *Dido* is the name of a country. Here the presence of  is embarrassing. Perhaps emend  in 317 and  in 120, but the meaning remains obscure.

321. XIX-XXTH (?)^a DYNASTY (Pl. LXXX)

E.E.F. copy, no controls. Not found again in 1935.

Block marked 'lying about Room D', 80 × 50 cm. It has been thrice inscribed, the second and third times without proper erasing of the earlier scenes. To one of the editions is to be ascribed nothing more than the large figure of a king in the blue crown. To another are due the two larger of the figures below and to a third the two small figures and the pile of rings. One of the two larger figures is inscribed '*The king's scribe Nebsumenu*'.^b

322. XIX-XXTH DYNASTY (Pl. LXXX)

E.E.F. copy; no controls. Not found again in 1935.

Block marked 'Chamber A', 51 × 88 cm. Figure of a king offering two small vases to a deity not visible on this block. Before the face are the remains of a Ramesses cartouche, and behind the body the words '*A protection of life behind [him]*'. The king is followed by a female wearing the solar disk, uraeus and high feathers, and carrying two sistra.^c

323. DATE DOUBTFUL (Pl. LXXX)

E.E.F. copy, no controls. Not found again in 1935.

Block (?) marked 'near entrance to cave', 65 × 55 cm.

A king in the double crown stands before Hathor. '*The good god, - - - - - endowed with life, king of Upper (and Lower) Egypt - - - - - beloved of Hathor, lady of the turquoise. May she give all life and dominion.*'

324. MIDDLE KINGDOM (?) (Pl. LXXX)

E.E.F. copy; no controls. Not found again in 1935.

Piece of wall decoration surmounted by *kheker*-ornament, probably of Middle Kingdom date.^d There remain only fragments of the royal titulary of a king whose name began with '*Amen - - - - -*'.

Compare 325 and 326.

325. MIDDLE KINGDOM (?) (Pl. LXXX)

E.E.F. copy; no controls. Not found again in 1935.

Piece of wall decoration surmounted by *kheker*-ornament, compare 324 and 326. Of the scenes and inscriptions nothing remains except what might be the disk and horns of Hathor, and part of a titulary '*The good god, lord of - - - - - rēr*'.

326. MIDDLE KINGDOM (?) (Pl. LXXX)

E.E.F. copy; no controls. Its right-hand half was found again in 1935 lying in the Sanctuary and collated.

Piece of wall decoration, 15 × 71 cm., surmounted by *kheker*-ornament, compare 324 and 325. The fragment contains the upper part of a scene in which a king Ammenemes (?) stood before Hathor.

^a Assigned in Petrie's rough list to Ramesses II without query. On what evidence is not obvious.

^b The ꜥ must be an error of copying for the *mnw* sign. For the name see RANKE, p. 186, 8 and 11, and for writings of the name of the town *Smmw*, KUENTZ, *BIFAO* 28, 123 ff.

^c In Petrie's rough list the inscription is given as 'Ramesses II and sister'. On what evidence?

^d Petrie's rough list classes this and the two following fragments as pieces of cornice, and assigns them to the XVIIIth Dynasty.

327. XVIIITH DYNASTY (Pl. LXXX)

E.E.F. copy; no controls. Not found again in 1935.

Two portions of blocks; provenance not given.^a Measurements 21 × 68 cm. and 20 × 23 cm.

Portions of three male figures. The hieroglyphs remaining give a name ending in -y followed by the words '*repeating life*'.

328. DATE DOUBTFUL (Pl. LXXX)

E.E.F. copy; no controls. Not found again in 1935.

Block, 19 × 75 cm.; provenance not given.

Heads of Amūn and of Sopdu. In front of the former is '*Lord of the Thrones [of the two lands]*', and before the latter '*Lord of initiative, Sopdu - - - -*'. The word behind Sopdu seems to be *ḥm* 'falcon' referring to Sopdu's form.

In Petrie's rough list this copy and 344 are bracketed together and a single set of measurements, 30 × 14 in., given to cover the two. To compress the two sheets into this space it would be necessary to place one below the other, as 328 is already 30 in. in length. A glance at the figures will show that such an arrangement cannot correspond to the original positions of the two fragments, and we ought therefore to infer no more from the list than that both pieces belong to the same scene, though not actually contiguous. The list assigns them to the XVIIIth Dynasty.

329. DATE DOUBTFUL (Pl. LXXX)

E.E.F. copy; no controls. Not found again in 1935. Block marked 'By north door of temple', 59 × 27 cm.

Upper portions of three female figures of whom two face towards the right and one towards the left. Of the hieroglyphs nothing remains except the outline of a cartouche followed by '*endowed with life*', the words '*mistress of the two lands*', and the name of Hathor.

330. XVIIITH (?) DYNASTY (Pl. LXXXI)

E.E.F. copy; no controls. Not found again in 1935.

Piece of inscription marked as from near the entrance to the Hathor cave. '*The king's daughter, his beloved - - - - -*' facing left. '*[The king's] daughter, his beloved, the god's wife of^b Amūn - - - - -*' facing right.

331. MIDDLE KINGDOM (?) (Pl. LXXXI)

E.E.F. copy; no controls. Not found again in 1935.

No details as to nature or provenance. Probably part of a block, 21 × 35 cm.

An offering table with Hathor on the left and a king on the right. Before Hathor '*[lady of] turquoise*'. Before the king '*- - - - - endowed with life for ever*'.

332. XIX-XXTH DYNASTY (Pl. LXXXI)

E.E.F. copy; no controls. Not found again in 1935.

Inscribed block from Room C, east wall, 44 × 85 cm.

Figure of a man offering two vases to Thoth, a low altar standing between them. In front of the man are words which the present editor is unable to interpret.

^a Petrie's rough list assigns them to XIXth Dynasty.

^b Reading *nt* (?)

333. DATE DOUBTFUL (Pl. LXXXI)

E.E.F. copy; no controls. Found again in 1935 lying south-east of **100** and collated.

Block, measuring 28 × 67 cm.; provenance not indicated.

Fragments of two scenes representing the king on the right before Hathor, and on the left, before Hathor or before some other deity. Remains of inscription read '*Hathor, lady of the turquoise*'.

334. DATE DOUBTFUL (Pl. LXXXI)

E.E.F. copy; no controls. Now in Greenock, Maclean Museum, no. 44.

Sculptured block, provenance not given.

On the left stood Atūm wearing the double crown, and on the right was doubtless a figure of a king making an offering to him. Of this figure only the hand remains. The inscription reads '*Beloved of [Atūm], lord of Ōn*'.

335. DATE DOUBTFUL (Pl. LXXXI)

E.E.F. copy; no controls. Not found again in 1935.

Sculptured block, 20 × 57 cm. Portions of two figures, probably those of Hathor and a king. Behind the goddess is a fragment of her title, '*[Lady of the] turquoise*'.

336. DATE DOUBTFUL (Pl. LXXXI)

E.E.F. copy; no controls. Not found again in 1935.

Fragment of block, 20 × 65 cm. Provenance not given.

Figure of a king offering incense to '*[Hathor, lady of the turquoise]*'. On the left is a female figure, probably Hathor.

337. DATE DOUBTFUL (Pl. LXXXI)

E.E.F. copy; no controls. Not found again in 1935.

Sculptured block, 83 × 45 cm., provenance not given.

Figure of the Hathor cow suckling the king.

338. XIX-XXTH DYNASTY (Pl. LXXXII)

E.E.F. copy; no controls. Not found again in 1935.

Block marked 'Ramesses and sister' and therefore probably connected with **322**, which is similarly marked in Petrie's rough list.

Female figure holding out two sistra.

339. DATE DOUBTFUL (Pl. LXXXII)

E.E.F. copy; no controls. Not found again in 1935.

Block, 67 × 43 cm.; provenance not given.

Part of a figure of a sphinx. Behind it '*beloved of Hathor, lady of the turquoise*'.

340. HATSHEPSUT (?) (Pl. LXXXII)

E.E.F. copy; no controls. Not found again in 1935.

Block, 80 × 23 cm., provenance not indicated.

Legs of two figures, probably a king and the goddess Hathor. Remains of a vertical line of hieroglyphs '----- *endowed with life* eternally*'. Below was an inscription mentioning Hathor.

341. DATE DOUBTFUL (Pl. LXXXII)

E.E.F. copy; no controls. Collated with the original on 14.4.1935.

Portion of a large stela (?) almost entirely defaced. The copy is marked 'Front of Gate', and in Petrie's rough list this inscription is described as 'Ramesses II, before door'; but the copy to which the list refers consisted of two sheets each 22×25 in. in size, neither of which can be identified with the copy under consideration, which measures 18×10 in. De Buck saw it lying 'in front of entrance W. of 252'.

Figure of the king wearing the blue crown with disk and feathers. Behind him are the remains of an inscription: '*Every protection and life [behind him]*.'

342. DATE DOUBTFUL (Pl. LXXXII)

E.E.F. copy; no controls. Not found again in 1935.

Block, 61×20 cm.; provenance not given.

Portion of a figure of Hathor with remains of the word '*turquoise*'.

343. DATE DOUBTFUL (Pl. LXXXII)

E.E.F. copy; no controls. Not found again in 1935.

Fragment of sculptured block.

Portion of the figure of a king.

344. DATE DOUBTFUL (Pl. LXXXII)

E.E.F. copy; no controls. Found again lying in the Sanctuary and collated on 9.4.1935.

Part of a block, 18×56 cm. No details given.

Portions of two figures with the disk and horizon sign between them. For possible relation to 328 see under that number.

345. MIDDLE KINGDOM (Pl. LXXXII)

For bibliography see PORTER-MOSS, VII, 360. E.E.F. copy, collated with the original.

Sphinx in red sandstone, 237 mm. in length over all. Now in the B.M. (no. 41748).

Provenance not stated, but certainly from the Serâbît temple. See P. R., pp. 129-30 and fig. 141.

On the right shoulder are the words '*Beloved of Hathor, [lady of] the turquoise*' in hieroglyphs. On the base, between the forepaws is a *serekh* of which a tracing was taken at the time of finding. The sickle sign is probably certain but the meaning of the whole group remains obscure. On the right and left sides of the base are short inscriptions in the so-called Sinaitic script.

346-400 are numbers occupied by or reserved for inscriptions in the Sinaitic script, which are not dealt with in the present publication. An exception is **369** which was originally thought to have been, in part at least, inscribed in the Sinaitic script but which turned out later to be entirely Egyptian.

* 𓆎 with transposition of signs which is not unparalleled. The feminine form would suggest the attribution of the inscription to Hatshepsut.

369. NEW KINGDOM (not in Plates, see accompanying fig. 16)

For bibliography see PORTER-MOSS, VII, 355.

Found by the Joint Expedition in 1930 in the temple, south of 90 according to a note by de Buck. The accompanying figure is drawn from Leibovitch's facsimiles checked by the published photographs. Now in Cairo, JE. 53833.



FIG. 16. Squatting statue no. 369.

Squatting sandstone statue, 53 cm. high, with the emblem of Hathor in front. To the right of the latter: [Offering which-the-king-gives (to) (?)] Hathor, lady of the turquoise, (to) the chief of (to the left:) Madjoy^a Nenkhemsen (?),^b true of voice, he of the Tract of Prêr.^c

The signs are crudely cut and almost illegible.

^a For the title *wr n Mdy* (not *wr Mdy*!), see examples in *Wb.* II, 186, 13 (especially Pap. Anast. v, 25, 2-3), adding 296.

^b The reading *Madjoy* is due to Gunn (see LEIBOVITCH, *Les inscriptions protosinaïtiques*, p. 4) who adduced Cairo stela 20350 in support of his reading. Nenkhemsen occurs there as

the second part of the composite proper name Amenem-hêtsonb-Nenkhemsen.

^c *pr rwd n pr-R*, that is, the eastern desert-edge. On *pr rwd n pr-R*, if indeed this is the correct reading here, see 295 and GARDINER, *JEA* v, 259; *Onomastica*, II, 168*.

401. MIDDLE KINGDOM. YEAR 7 (Pl. LXXXIII)

Found in April 1935 lying near **115**. Hand copy controlled by a photograph. Now in Cairo Museum, JE. 65468.

Sandstone stela, with rounded top, 47 × 30 cm., 8 cm. thick, incomplete at the bottom and inscribed on one side only. All representations and inscriptions in relief *en creux*.

On the top is the date, 'Year 7', followed by a line reading 'Offering-which-the-king-gives for the ka of the petty official 'Ankhren, true of voice'.

Below this is a representation of a man sitting on a stool in front of an offering table and smelling a lotus flower which he holds in his left hand.

Still further down are three lines of inscription: '|¹ O you living who may come |² to this place, may you reach (home) in peace |³ and say: Thousand of bread and beer, oxen-flesh and geese, alabaster and cloths* - - - - -'. Certainly one, possibly two lines are broken off at the bottom.

402. MIDDLE KINGDOM. REIGN UNKNOWN. YEAR 15 (Pl. LXXXIII)

Hand-copy. Fragment of a round-topped stela, 11.5 × 16.5 cm., found in April 1935 in the Hall of Sopdu.

In the rounded top the date, '[Year] 15'. Below: '- - - [made by (?)] the deputy of the chief steward^b Ameny - - -'.

403. MIDDLE KINGDOM. REIGN UNKNOWN. YEAR 10 (Pl. LXXXIII)

Hand-copy controlled by a photograph.

Large sandstone stela with rounded top, about 25 cm. thick, breadth in the middle about 50 cm. Lying in fragments south-west of **247** in 1935. Inscribed on one (originally the east) side only, but almost illegible.

In the lunette are remains of the date, 'Year 10 [under]'. Below are two lines of large hieroglyphs giving the name of the king: 'Majesty [of] - - - - - beloved of Hathor, [lady of the turquoise].'

Still farther down the silhouette of the goddess with the sun disk between horns on her head. The rest of the stela is completely corroded by wind and sand.

404. MIDDLE KINGDOM. REIGN UNKNOWN. YEAR X+10 (Pl. LXXXIV)

Hand-copy controlled by photographs of all sides.

Two fragments of a large sandstone stela, 75 cm. wide, 46 cm. thick. Found lying west of **247** in 1935.

The smaller fragment comes from the rounded top and shows in the lunette on the (east) face a trace of the date '[Year x+] 10'. Below this the sky, supported at left and right by two uas-sceptres, forms a frame in which the inscriptions and representations were placed. The relatively large empty space on the smaller fragment below the sky suggests that the king's names were written vertically in the centre. Nothing of this has survived.

The royal name was followed by a horizontal line preserved on the larger piece. It reads in bold hieroglyphs, 'given life, perpetuity and dominion like [Rē] for ever'.

Below this a representation shows the king with a cap adorned by two feathers sitting on the left and receiving an uas-sceptre, which ends at the top with the signs ☐ and ☐, 'life' and 'perpetuity',

^a ☐ and ☐ contaminated into one sign.

and the title.

^b Restore *idmw n [imy-r] pr wr*. See **93** and **98** for the man

^c Only traces of a cartouche are visible.

from Hathor who is followed by a man. The man is 'Overseer of the female weavers *Ankh[ib]*' who is known to us from 72. The whole scene is headed [*Hathor, lady*] of heaven, - - - - - , [*may she give (?) life, perpetuity and dominion*].

West face was blank, at least as far as the two fragments go.

South edge. Titles and name of the principal official in two vertical lines starting below the curve of the rounded top of the smaller fragment, but nothing except the beginning 'Royal [*acquaintance*] - - - - -' is preserved. Below is a man, walking towards the right and perhaps followed by another, the latter being now completely destroyed.

North edge. Probably remains of the offering formula: '[*Offering-which-the-king-gives*] - - - - - consisting of roasted meat, of - - - - - , of cold water and all good things on which a god lives [for the ka of] - - - - - of young recruits, chief of female weavers of - - - - - , true of voice, possessing honour, conceived of - - - - -'.

Below this are two men walking to the left with arms lifted in adoration; the second is 'his brother *Sehetep[ib]rē*'. At the bottom the end of a horizontal line is visible '- - - - - [*Khent*]ekhtay'.

405. AMMENEMES III (Pl. LXXXV)

For bibliography see PORTER-MOSS, VII, 356.

Cleared by the Harvard University expedition in April 1935; entirely unrepresented among E.E.S. material. Hand-copy of all three sides and two photographs of south-east face. Thickness 38 cm.

The stela is standing now in the south-east wall of the Portico to the right of the entrance from the Approach to Sopdu where it has been employed as building material to form a door-jamb. For this purpose the original inscribed surface of the north-west face and south-west edge have been cut off (except for the beginning of the first vertical line of the latter), and so has the rounded top, the departure of which, however, is still visible. Judging from the state of preservation of the south-east face the stela must have already suffered considerable damage in its upper part by the time it was re-used in the construction.

In the view of the displacement the actual position has been kept for denomination of its sides.

South-east face. The rounded top, undoubtedly containing the date, has been sawn off. Below it the sky supported by *uas*-sceptres and the continuation of the dating: 'under the majesty of the good god *Nemacrē* - - - - - beloved of Horus, lord of Letopolis.' The outline of the god is still visible standing on the left, while the figure of the king opposite to him is lost. Below this is an inscription in five vertical lines, well preserved except for about four groups at the top:

'¹ [*True royal acquaintance*], his beloved, of his affection, the only one useful of the king of Upper Egypt, great one of the king of Lower Egypt, over the secrets of the House of Gold, favourite of ² - - - - - , excellent leader of the lord of the two lands, watchful, free from bribery (? *db*), who takes charge of the who are upon ³ - - - - - , favourite of the king of Upper Egypt in travelling over foreign countries in order to bring noble precious stone to his majesty, of whom it was said his advice is excellent ⁴ - - - - - what his lord has ordered, who reached the top of the praised ones, he who is admitted to his lord before millions, who repeats good things ⁵ [*to the lord of the two lands*'] - - - - - all - - - - - at all places, the careful god's treasurer *Sebekhotep*, true of voice. He says: As the king lives for me, I have spoken in truth.'

^a Compare COUYAT-MONTET, no. 108, 9-10.

Below this is a representation in relief of a man riding on a donkey.^a The animal is led by a man carrying a spear over his left shoulder, and is followed by yet another man armed also with a spear and a throwing stick. The man on the donkey holds an adze in his left hand, and a short stick (for urging the donkey?) in his right. The man leading the donkey is called 'Shekam', the man behind the donkey 'Apim', and as the bodies of all three are painted yellow, they were therefore Semites. The stela, having probably been buried deep in sand and, after its transfer to the present position, disguised by the wall, the colours (yellow, black, red, and white) were well preserved at the time of discovery in 1935. The details of the colouring are shown by the accompanying figure (fig. 17).^b

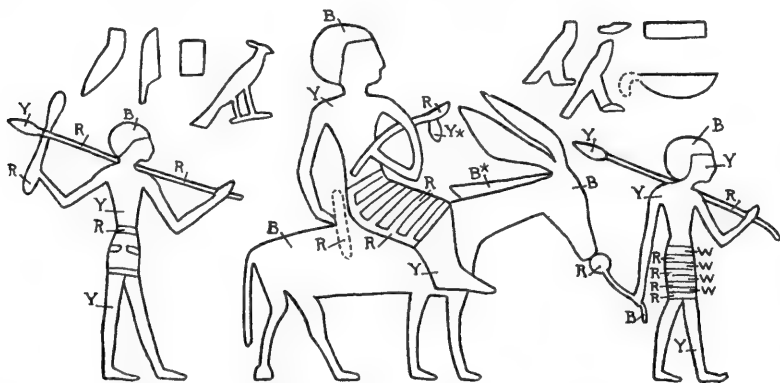


FIG. 17. Bottom of the south-east face of stela no. 405.

South-west edge. Only the beginning of the first line has been left: 'True king's acquaintance, his beloved, of [his] affection -----.'

North-east edge. Only the bottom is in part preserved. It contained a list of the members of the expedition: '-----, domestic of the foremen -----, overseer of the troops -----, foreman Ihy -----, foreman Irah, foreman Shu, foreman S -----, foreman Hor, butler Pepi -----, [butl]er^c -----, [butl]er^c -----.'

North-west face. All inscriptions have been cut off.

406. AMMENEMES III (Pl. LXXXIII)

Hand-copy checked by a good photograph.

Small round-topped sandstone stela, 38 cm. high and 22 cm. broad, found in front of the stelae in the Sanctuary in April 1935. Now in the Semitic Museum of Harvard University, no. 8634 a.

The top, which undoubtedly contained the date, is broken away. Five horizontal lines follow: '1 ----- Nema[rē] living like Rē. 2 True royal acquaintance, his beloved, of his affection, 3 intendant, leader of the gangs 4 Harwerrē,^d true of voice. The true beloved one of his master, 5 brewer Ankef, possessing honour.'

^a Probably the 'brother of the prince of Retjenu Khebde' appearing in 85, 87, 92, and 112, without name also in 103 and 115; see *Archiv Orientalní*, 7, 384 ff.

^b See also the description in *Stud. and Doc.*, vi, 6.

^c Or (𐎗) 'dragoman'?

^d For him see 90, and the title *hrp skw*, note a thereon.

407. MIDDLE KINGDOM (Pl. LXXXIV)

Djaf is very probably the same man as Djaf also called Horemsaf in **119**, **120**, **122**, and **123**, and Djafi of **121**.

Two rectangular basins for water extend along the bottom of the offering-table.

^e Original has O instead of @.

shall come |⁴ to this mining country as any scribe - - - -, |⁵ if you love your gods, you shall say: "A thousand [of] |⁶ loaves of bread and jugs of beer, oxen-flesh and fowl, and all pure divine offerings |⁷ for the ka of the scribe of the governing body of the Treasury, |⁸ Seninen, true of voice, possessing honour, |⁹ conceived of Renessomb, [true of voice (?)]."

A man was represented sitting on the ground in the left bottom corner of the stela.

410. AMMENEMES II (?) (Pl. LXXXIV)

Hand-copy only.

Fragment of the lower part of a sandstone stela found in April 1935 among heaps of stones representing remains of ancient huts on a hill about 350 m. north-west of the Mines L and M.

Measurements: 31 cm. in height and 31 cm. in length; thickness 11 cm. Much weathered and illegible except for the traces of a royal name^a at the top and 'beloved [of Hathor]'. In the vertical lines below are remains of titles and the name of an official (?) ' - - - - sw' and 'cold water, burnt-offering and incense'.^b

411. MIDDLE KINGDOM (Pl. LXXXVI)

Hand-copy and a photograph.

Lower part of a large stela standing in the Portico Court, close to the right of 91, see Pl. XCII. Not among materials brought by the E.E.S. expedition. Width 65 cm., preserved height 92 cm.

East face. Only the last four of the horizontal lines are legible to some extent: '|¹ - - - - whom his [majesty] ordered to be sent^c on every expedition |² to Asia in order to bring to him all the beautiful precious things of this foreign country, |³ turquoise, lapis-lazuli, tfrrt-stone,^d mnwr-incense,^e |⁴ - - - - - . The intendant Khetysombem - - - - - .'

West face and *north edge* are blank and so probably is the *south edge*, though this cannot be verified, since it is covered by 91.



412. MIDDLE KINGDOM (Pl. LXXXVII)

Hand-copies and photographs of all sides.

Lower part of a large stela standing in the Portico Court close to the right of 411, not included among the E.E.S. expedition materials. Measurements: 51 cm. wide, 35 cm. thick, height preserved 135 cm.

East face. Parts of four vertical lines.

'|¹ [True king's acquaintance], his beloved, of [his] affection |² - - - - knowing the place of his foot^f

^a Judging from the position of  the name seems to have been  which suits either Ammenemes II (Nbkaur) or Sesostriis III (H'kaur). There being relatively few monuments of the time of Sesostriis III at Serâbit el-Khâdim, the former is perhaps more likely to have been named here.

^b Kbhsw sdt sm[tr], see Wb. v, 28, 14.

^c W[d hm]-f sbit.

^d Coming from the country of Tfrrt (Wb. v, 300, 1), whence lapis-lazuli also came. In the Graeco-Roman period

tfrr (Wb. v, 300, 2) designates a blue precious stone and is thought to be a name for lapis-lazuli. This can hardly be true for tfrrt in the present inscription, as a mention of lapis-lazuli (hsbd) precedes. For the country Tfrrt see GAUTHIER, *Dict. géogr.* vi, 57. MONTET, *Monuments Piot*, 41, 20-22 ff., compares the mineral tfrrt with טַפְרִית and σάμπερος which was named after the town of Sippar in Babylonia situated on the road by which the stone came to Egypt from the east.

^e This material, too, came from an eastern country to which it later gave its name (mnwrt, Wb. ii, 79, 9).

^f For this line see 112 E. face, l. 2.

in the king's house, who is admitted |³ *[to the king before his nobles]* - - - *who provides the palace with necessities* |⁴ - - - - - , *who trod the path [of his benefactor]*^a - - - - -.

West face. Ends of five vertical lines, practically illegible except for 'excellent - - - - - of the lord of the two lands, without concealing'^b in line 4 and the name 'Khentyhotep, true of voice, possessing honour' at the end of l. 5.

South edge. Ends of three vertical lines:

'|¹ - - - - - at the distant place of Asiatics, descending (?) |² - - - [to whom] the officials [come]^c bending at the gate |³ - - - - -.'

North edge. Remains of ends of three vertical lines. Beneath them a table giving the members of the expedition:

'Interpreter Senwosret, [possessing honour].

Interpreter Renf, possessing honour.

Scribe of the expedition Senebtifi, [possessing honour].

Petty official Hori, possessing honour.

Petty official Senwosret, possessing honour.

Petty official of the Treasury Khonshotep (?), possessing honour.

Scorpion charmer Ipu,^d possessing honour.

Ferryman Hori, possessing honour.

- - - - -^e *Ameny, possessing honour.*

Foreman 'Ankhtifi, possessing honour.

Number - - - - - 160 (?)

- - - - - *donkeys 50.'*

413. MIDDLE KINGDOM (Pl. LXXXVIII)

Hand-copy and three photographs.

Fragment of a large stela found in 1935 lying east of **92**. Width 62 cm., preserved height 60 cm., thickness of fragment 20 cm.

The stela resembles very much **106** in its arrangement and in the contents of its inscriptions; cf. also **114 W.** face.

West face shows fragments of seven vertical lines, mostly illegible: '|¹ [O you] living and who are upon the earth, king's gentlemen and friends, - - - - [if you wish] |² Hathor, lady of the turquoise, [to praise you] and that you should reach (home) [safely] - - - - - |³ castellan - - - - - |⁴ [I] reached - - - - - |⁵ castellan - - - - - |⁶ king, exalt^f [(his) might] - - - - - they - - - - - |⁷ that which is hidden in them, mountains of foreign countries bring their tributes - - - - -.'

North edge. List of members of the expedition:

'[Scribe (?)] of the governing body - - - - -.

Assistant treasurer - - - - -.

^a Restore *smnh sw* as in **25** and **33**.

^b Probably *shp*, but □ seems to be omitted.

^c [*ttw n-f sr*]; cf. **93 N**.

^d For this title, lit. 'remover of scorpions', see **23**.

^e Destroyed or blank?

^f |Δ|^g seems to be still distinguishable on the photograph.

Assistant treasurer - - - - -.

Petty official of [the Treasury (?)] - - -.

Petty official - - - - -.

[Ferry]man (?) - - - - -.

[Ferry]man (?) - - - - -.

South edge. Personnel of the expedition:

'- - - - - *Iusomb.*

- - - - - *coppersmiths, 3.*

- - - - - *carpenters, 3.*

- - - - - *ferryman,^a 40.*

- - - *[peasants (?)], 30.^b*

- - - - -.

East face. Completely worn away.

414. MIDDLE KINGDOM (Pl. LXXXVI)

Hand-copy and a photograph. Lower part of a stela (55 × 66 cm.) found in the Shrine of the Kings in 1935.

In the middle is represented a god walking whose head is not preserved. He holds a *uas*-sceptre in his left hand and ♀ in his right. In front of him and behind him are vertical lines which probably contained the king's name in their upper part:

'¹ - - - - - *[living] for ever, beloved of* - - - - - *in his length (?)*, ² - - - - - *beloved of Hathor, lady of the turquoise.'*

At the bottom of the stela are two horizontal lines:

'³ *Honour with Ptah-Sokar for the ka of the god's treasurer, intendant^c of the Treasury Aam, whose beautiful name is Ptahwēr, conceived of*^d - - - - -.' For this man see 108 and 109.

415. A KING AMMENEMES (Pl. LXXXVI)

Two fragments (a), (b) of an architrave found in 1935 lying south of 199, not far from 317 A. All three (together with 310) are probably parts of the same architrave.

Hand-copy only.

(a) (length 65 cm., height 25 cm., width of line 17 cm.) Has two faces:

A: '- - - - - *Amenemhēt, granted life [for ever?]* - - -.'

B: '- - - - - *of (?) a room of* - - - - - *Golden one^e* - - -.'

(b) Is unintelligible.




416. MIDDLE KINGDOM (?) (Pl. LXXXVI)

Hand-copy only. Block found in 1935 lying on the top of the hill above the temple. Measurements: 133 cm. high, 37 cm. wide at the bottom, 20 cm. at the top.

^a The Plate should show , not , here.

^b See 106 S. edge, l. 5.

^c Read *imy-r* [*hwtwy*] as in 108.

^d Read . The tiny traces which seem to be discernible on the photographs suit   found in 108.

^e Name of Hathor.

The lower part of the block is blank. In the upper part is the figure of a man in high relief, the vertical line behind which is incised *en creux*: 'he who loves to mourn for the king - - - -'.

The stone shows at the bottom a dove-tail shaped incision; it was therefore employed later as building material in some construction. See similar hole on 71.

417. MIDDLE KINGDOM (Pl. LXXXVIII)

Hand-copy only. Massive altar found in 1935 lying in the Cave of Hathor. For the measurements see accompanying sketch (fig. 18).

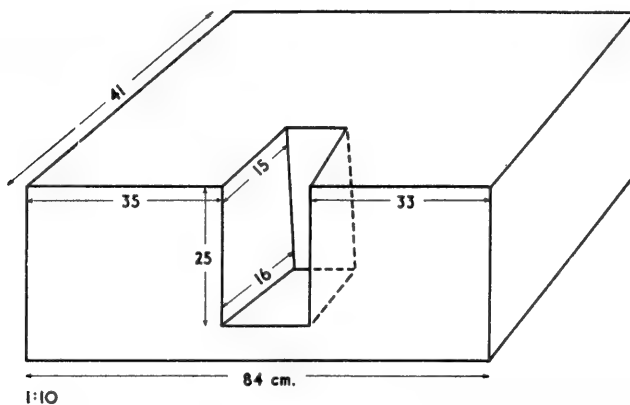


FIG. 18. Altar no. 417.

The altar has a recess cut in its front side and is inscribed only on both sides of this recess. The two corners of the front side are broken away.

On each side of the recess a man is represented kneeling and turned towards it. Two loaves of bread are placed before him. The man on the left is 'The treasurer of the king of Lower Egypt, the sole friend Amenysonb'; that on the right '[Amen]y, our Lotus-flower', certainly the same man as in 94 (c), (d) and 98. The damaged vertical line behind him is unintelligible.

418. MIDDLE KINGDOM (Pl. LXXXVIII)

Hand-copy only. Fragment from the (north?) edge of a stela found in 1935 in the Sanctuary. The distance of the line from the angle is 5 cm.

'- - - - his [beloved], of the king's affection (?), correct^a - - - -'. The stone has been re-employed and a hole cut on its right side.

419. MIDDLE KINGDOM (Pl. LXXXVIII)


Photograph only. Lower part of a stela found in 1935. Measurements: 30 cm. wide, 35 cm. high.

The stela is almost entirely obliterated. Line 3 reads: 'his mother Neferiu' and in l. 4 the proper name 'Henuts[en]' is still discernible.

^a Mtr.

420. MIDDLE KINGDOM (Pl. LXXXVIII)

Photograph only. Two thin fragments of a stela (?) found in 1935: (a) 10 × 6 cm., (b) 5.5 × 6 cm.

Nothing can be made out of the inscription, the only recognizable word being  'petty official'.

421. MIDDLE KINGDOM (Pl. LXXXIX)

Published by N. REICH in *Mizraim*, I, 144-6 and pl. xvi.

Drawn from the published photograph.

Small stela with rounded top broken in two and measuring 47 cm. in height, 27 cm. in width, 11 cm. thick; found by the Joint Expedition of Harvard and Catholic Universities in 1930 in the ancient camp situated on the plateau near the head of Rôd el-'Air (see inset on Pl. XCI). Now in the Catholic University Museum, Washington, no. 6370.

'An offering-which-the-king-gives (to) Anubis on his mountain, who is in the town Wt, lord of the necropolis, that he may give an offering of thousand of bread, beer, oxen-flesh, fowl, alabaster and garments to the ka of the petty official of the great house Mi,^a possessing honour, conceived of Nesrēr,^b true of voice, possessing honour.'

422. NEW KINGDOM (Pl. LXXXIX)

From a sketch. On the right-hand side of the rock niche at Q for the position of which see Pl. XC and the inset on Pl. XCI.

'- - - - Huy, true of voice.'

Three stelae were found lying near niche Q in 1935. One of them (61 A), incomplete at the top and broken in two fragments, was illegible; the other two are 61 and 423.

423. NEW KINGDOM (Pl. LXXXIX)

Hand-copy and an unsatisfactory photograph. Stela with rounded top measuring 70 cm. in height and 39 cm. in breadth, 5.5 cm. thick. Found lying near the rock niche of Q in 1935, see under 422.


The upper part is completely worn away, only the figure of a goddess being discernible on the right. Below this are five horizontal lines of which not much can be made out:



'¹ An-offering-which-the-king-gives (to) Pt[ah] - - - - - (to) Hathor, lady of ² the turquoise, that they may give - - - - - ³ 'Aperbarac - - - - - ⁴ Ptah, with beautiful face, Thoht, lord of Khmūn, and Khentekhtay, lord of Kemwey. He says: - - - - - ⁵

424. NEW KINGDOM (Pl. LXXXIX)

Hand-copy supported by a photograph and a tracing. Fragment of the rounded top of a stela found in 1935 in the Sanctuary (Q); 14 cm. high and 16 cm. wide. Now in the Semitic Museum of Harvard University, no. 8634 e.

On the left is a man bringing a burning censer and pouring water on some offerings before a deity of which only one hand, holding a uas-sceptre, and a trace of the head are preserved. Traces

^a The absence of  forbids the reading Nḥi with Reich. The tick in front of the bird may well be accidental.

^b The reading  is uncertain, and the lack of  would

be strange; still Ns-rr seems to be attested as a feminine name (RANKE, p. 177, 25).

^c For this proper name see RANKE, p. 60, 15 and 16.

of green paint are visible on the body of the man, on the two objects he holds, on the offerings, on the body (arm and head) of the deity, and the sceptre.

Above the man is an inscription in vertical lines:

‘¹ *Merimutef*, ² *may he give a beautiful life, favour and love* | ³ *to the ka of the hunter* | ⁴ *‘Anensu.’*

425. NEW KINGDOM (Pl. LXXXIX)

Drawn from a photograph. Fragment of the lower part of a stela found in 1935. Measurements: 45 cm. high, 40 cm. wide.

Two men are represented walking towards the right, the second carrying a bird in his left hand. No inscriptions are preserved.

426. AMENOPHIS III (Pl. LXXXIX)

Hand-copy only. Lower part of a seated female statue found in 1935 lying south of 90 and 115.

On the back in a vertical line (width of the line, 10 cm.): ‘- - - - - *consisting of millions, hundreds of thousands, thousands and hundreds (to)* ^b *the lord of the two lands* [Neb]ma^crêr, [beloved of] Hathor, lady of the turquoise.’

In front, on the throne:

On right (width of the line, 5.5 cm.): ‘*Son of Rêr Amenhotep, ruler of Wëset, beloved of Hathor, lady of the turquoise*’; on left (width of the line, 6 cm.): ‘*King of Upper and Lower Egypt* [Neb]ma^crêr, *beloved of Hathor, lady of the turquoise.*’

427. NEW KINGDOM (Pl. LXXXIX)

Hand-copy only.

Fragment of a stela, 43 × 48 cm., found in April 1935. On it are a hand holding a ♂, a leg, and the ceremonial tail of a king, followed by another man, both facing left. Between them in two vertical lines are the remains of the titulary of the man: ‘¹ - - - *in the house of the king, who travelled through the mountains of Punt in order to bring* | ² - - - [ebo]ny from Utjenet, ^c’

At the bottom in a horizontal line: ‘*The scribe. He says: O you elders and friends of the palace* - - - -.’

428. NEW KINGDOM (?) (Pl. LXXXVIII)

Drawn from two photographs kindly supplied by A. Mekhitarian of Brussels.^d

Publ.: SPELEERS, *Rec. des inscriptions égyptiennes*, p. 17, no. 79.

Small stela, 15 cm. high and 9.5 cm. wide, found by the E.E.F. expedition, presumably at Serâbîṭ el-Khâdîm; now in Brussels, E. 3084.

The stela has a rounded top and is an ex-voto to Hathor whose emblem stands in the middle. The two eyes above it and an ear on each side of the emblem were supposed to ensure that the dedicator would be seen and his prayers listened to by the goddess.^e The title and name of the dedicator, which probably stood in the two vertical lines, are illegible.

^a ‘Beloved one of his Mother’, local god of the town of H^cyt (between Siut and Cusae, now Manḳabâd), cf. KEES, *Der Götterglaube im alten Ägypten*, p. 79, n. 1, and GARDINER, *Onomastica*, II, pp. 75*-76*, and to their references add L. D. III, 125a (with human head). He was a ram-god and a ram’s head seems to suit the trace on our stela.

^b — omitted since the following word (nb) begins with n.

^c For the country W^{nt} or W^{nt} see 238, note c. The passage has been interpreted correctly by YOVOTTE, *Revue d’égyptologie* 9, 137.

^d Not, as stated in Part I, p. 18, from the publication.

^e For similar stelae with ears (but without eyes) see

429. MIDDLE KINGDOM (Pl. LXXXVI)

Published by J. LEIBOVITCH, *Les inscriptions protosinaïtiques (Mémoires présentés à l'Institut d'Égypte, vol. xxiv, Cairo, 1937)*, p. 17, fig. 10 a, b, and p. 16.

Drawn from the publication.

Fragment of an offering-table of red sandstone, 13.5 × 35 cm., thickness 11 cm., found at Serâbî el-Khâdim near Mine V (i.e. Mine F of Petrie, our Pl. XC) in 1930 by the Harvard and Washington Catholic Universities Joint Expedition. Now in the Cairo Museum, JE. 55595.

Four lines of inscription, very badly engraved and of doubtful reading: '1 Offering-which-the-king-gives (to) Hathor, lady of the turquoise, - - - and (to) Horus Nebmare (??) 2 for the ka of the scribe - - - -, possessing honour. Blank 3 His father Ranfronkh, true of voice; his brother Senebtifi, true of voice; 4 his brother - - - ka, true of voice; his brother - - - -, true of voice.'^a

430. MIDDLE KINGDOM (Pl. LXXXVIII)

Published by KUENTZ, *Obélisques (Catalogue général des antiquités ég. du Musée du Caire)*, pp. 17-18, no. 17010 bis; J. LEIBOVITCH, *Les inscriptions protosinaïtiques*, p. 18, fig. 11.

Professor de Buck's hand-copy controlled by Leibovitch's drawing.

Point of a flat obelisk of red sandstone, height 24 cm., width 10 cm., thickness 4.5 cm., found 'in the temple' in 1930 by the Harvard and Washington Catholic Universities Joint Expedition. Now in the Cairo Museum, JE. 53834.

Horus-hawk with the white crown surmounting a vertical line of hieroglyphs: 'An offering-which-the-king gives (to) Horus, lord of foreign countries - - - - -.'

431. MIDDLE KINGDOM (not in Plates. See accompanying fig. 19)

From de Buck's hand-copy. From 'Mine near tent'; this must be Mine VII of the Joint Expedi-

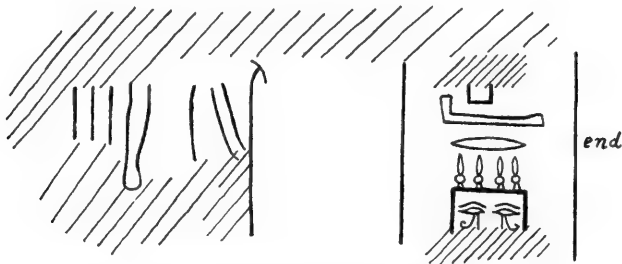





FIG. 19. Inscription no. 431 (from Prof. de Buck's hand-copy).

tion near which their camp lay (see the map in *The Harvard Theological Review*, 25, no. 2) and which corresponds to Petrie's and our F (Pl. XC). Scale unknown.

PETRIE, *Memphis I*, pls. x-xiii and p. 7; Berlin 7354 (publ. ERMAN, *Die Religion der Ägypter*, p. 145); BORCHARDT, *Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Sahu-rer*, 1, 128; B.M. stela [358], publ. *Guide to Egn. Galleries (Sculpture)*, pp. 140-1 and pl. xxi; with two pairs of ears and eyes behind the deity, Turin stela, Cat. 1553, publ. LANZONE, *Dizionario di mitologia*, pl. cccxi; Cairo, JE. 43566 and 43691, publ. BRUYÈRE, *Annales du Service*, 25, 82-88 and pl. ii, 1. 2; with two pairs of eyes

and one pair of ears behind the deity, B.M. stela [276], publ. *Hierogl. Texts from Egn. Stelae*, v, pl. 43; PETRIE, *Tombs of the Courtiers*, pl. xxxi, 4; BLOK, *Kémi*, 1, 123-35.

^a To S. Sauneron, who kindly inspected the original for us, we owe the assurance that it is impossible to read more. He also gave us the measurements of the stone (in his letter of 15.1.1952).




Half-destroyed figure of a god facing right and holding a *uas*-sceptre in his left hand. The vertical line of large hieroglyphs in front of him runs:    'prince at the chapel of Geb (i.e. throne of the king)'.^a




432. MIDDLE KINGDOM (?) (Not in the Plates)

See the accompanying fig. 20 from a drawing made by Ricci (Banks MSS. XX. B. 13) and compare the Lottinograph L.L., pl. 7 [top].



FIG. 20. Stela no. 432, from a pencil drawing by A. Ricci (Banks MSS. XX. B. 13; scale $\frac{1}{2}$ of the original drawing).

Upper part of a round-topped stela. In the lunette is the winged disk following the curve of the top. Under the disk is a cartouche, but the king's name is no longer legible. The cartouche is flanked on each side by three hieroglyphs    'Good and living god'.

Below is the scene in which the king makes an offering to Hathor on the left and Ptah on the right. Ptah stands on a staircase in his shrine and holds a composite sceptre consisting of    which symbolize 'life, stability, and dominion'.



Two figures of the king stand back to back in the middle. On the left he wears only a wig like a private individual, and holds before the goddess with his two hands a small censer. The fumes and

^a *iry-prt r hq* [n Gb]. For this title see examples in *Wb.* III, 209, 5, and especially GARDINER, *ZAS* 47, 93-94, and the discussion by KEES, *Der Opfertanz des äg. Königs*, pp. 181-2.

smell of the incense reach the goddess in the form of small balls. The goddess holds the symbols of 'stability' and 'life' to the king's nose and their arms are entangled in the most unusual way. On the right the king's head-dress is the blue crown and he offers to Ptah two conical bread loaves.

The presence of the blue crown alone would indicate the New Kingdom as the date of the stela, since this crown does not appear before the XVIIth Dynasty.^a But the Lottinograph shows clearly a difference in workmanship between the two royal figures, that on the right being shallower and less carefully executed. It seems certain that the figure with the blue crown has been sculptured to replace an earlier figure similar to that on the left. It is also possible that it was at that time that the cartouche above was added or altered. The original stela was probably of Middle Kingdom date. The short inscription between the king and Ptah is illegible in the lottinograph.

433. NEW KINGDOM. (Not in Plates)

This monument is known to us only from a note by de Buck: 'A Hathor pillar lying between 211 and 218 with an inscription on the edge  etc.^b over .

 The inscription is an epithet applied to an official, *'the mouth, who brings satisfaction in foreign countries'*.

^a v. BISSING, *ZÄS* 41, 87. See, however, note on 140.

^b de Buck has not copied the rest of the text.

CHAPTER V (*cont.*)

(D) GEBEL MAGHÂRAH

500. MIDDLE KINGDOM (Pl. LXXXIX)

Published by LEIBOVITCH, *Annales du Service*, 39, 213-14.

Sandstone stela brought in February 1935 by G. W. Murray, then Director of Desert Survey, from Gebel Maghârah. ^a Now in Cairo Museum, JE. 64929.

Drawn from the published photograph.

The rounded top contained a date of which only traces of the word 'Year', which was written {^[10], subsist.


Four horizontal lines follow:

'^[2] *King's acquaintance, intendant* - - - - -, ^[3] *the truly beloved one of his master, of his affection,*^b [*he who speaks*] ^[4] *good and reports that which is loved,* ^[5] *petty official of the Treasury Ukem.'*

At the bottom of the stela the dedicator is represented sitting in front of an offering table.

^a It was given to him 'by a Bedawy who had found it while working for turquoise in the mines at Gebel Maghârah which is in W[âdy] Iqna, a tributary of W. Sidra' (letter of 9.7.1953). The stela comes therefore from the area of our map, Pl. XV,

in which Wâdy Iknâ' is called Wâdy Genâ'.

^b Read . For the abbreviated writing of *st-ib* see 88.

CHAPTER V (*cont.*)

(E) RÔḌ EL-‘AÎR

For the position of the valley see above, p. 13, and the inset on the map, Pl. XCI. With the exception of the first (501) and the last (527) all the graffiti are on the rock wall facing north. The general order followed in their numbering is from east to west.

501. MIDDLE KINGDOM (Pl. XCIII)

From de Buck's hand-copy only, but seen in 1935. Scale $\frac{1}{3}$.

On a loose block among representations of boats, facing south-west.

‘*Khnumhotep, son of Ameny, born of Iby, living for ever*’ and ‘*his son - - - - - Woserronkh*’.

502. MIDDLE KINGDOM (Pl. XCIII)

From de Buck's copy, collated with the original in 1935. Controlled by three photographs.

Photograph published in *The Harvard Theol. Review*, 25, 2, pl. iii (bottom); *Stud. and Doc.* VI, pl. 14, fig. 30.

On the rock wall facing north.

‘¹ *He who wishes Snofru, Horus Nebmaret to praise him, should say:* ² *Cool water, burning offering, incense, thousand of bread and beer, oxen and fowl, alabaster and garments, and all good* ³ *and pure things on which a god lives, to the ka of the scorpion-charmer^a Anupnakht, born of Senes (?),^b possessing honour,* ⁴ *to the ka of the scribe of the cattle Senebtifi, born of Gefet, possessing honour,* ⁵ *to the ka of the foreman ‘Ankhtify,^c born of - - - - -,^d to the ka - - - - - [born] of Sit-hathor, possessing honour,* ⁷ *- - - - - possessing honour,* ⁸ *- - - - - possessing honour,* ⁹ *- - - - -, possessing honour.’*

503. MIDDLE KINGDOM (Pl. XCIII)

From a photograph.

Just below 502. Photograph published, same as 502.

Rough sketch of a boat with meaningless hieroglyphic signs.

504. MIDDLE KINGDOM (Pl. XCIII)

Photograph published in *Stud. and Doc.* VI, pl. 14, fig. 30.

From de Buck's hand-copy; Černý's hand-copy; photograph.

Immediately to the right of 502.

‘*Snofru - - - - -*.’

505. PROBABLY MIDDLE KINGDOM (Pl. XCIII)

From de Buck's hand-copy; collated in 1935; photograph.

Just below 504.

Figure of the god Onūris. In front of him are unintelligible hieroglyphic signs.

^a Lit. ‘scorpion remover’.

^b The last sign of the name is possibly not *g*; it is made differently from a certain *g* in *Gft* in the next line.

^c A man of the same title and name occurs also in 412 N, 10.

^d The gaps in lines 6 to 9 are probably the places where signs were only written in ink or paint, but never carved.

506. MIDDLE KINGDOM (?) (Pl. XCIII)

From a photograph.

To the right of and a little higher than **505**.

Drawing of a boat with some obscure signs below.

507. MIDDLE KINGDOM (Pl. XCIII)

From de Buck's hand-copy; controlled by a photograph.

Immediately to the right of **505**, below **504** and **506**.

Man standing in a boat and shooting arrows. A little higher and not belonging to this scene are two figures facing each other. On the left is a man with a long staff and sceptre; opposite to him a man brings as an offering a loaf of bread and a bird. In front of him: 'Serving-man (wb) Bed, ^a beloved of Hathor.'

508. MIDDLE KINGDOM (Pl. XCIII)

From Černý's hand-copy, controlled by a photograph.

To the right of **506**.

Head of a man, probably the beginning of a figure. Next to it: 'Scribe Hetepdhowt (?).'

509. MIDDLE KINGDOM (Pl. XCIII)

De Buck's hand-copy, controlled by a photograph.

Below **508**, to the right of and a little higher than, **507**. Only roughly stippled.

'Senwosret - - -.'

510. MIDDLE KINGDOM (Pl. XCIV)

From de Buck's hand-copy; Černý's tracing; photograph.

Partial photograph published in *The Harvard Theol. Review*, 25, 2, pl. iv (top); *Stud. and Doc.* vi, pl. 14, fig. 31.

To the right of **508** and **509**, at the same height. Very careful work.

'¹ He who wishes Snofru, ² Horus Nebmarek, to praise him, ³ is he who will reach his home in ⁴ peace and say: Cold libation, burning offering, incense, ⁵ for the interpreter Senwosret, possessing honour, ⁶ born of Sitrêr, possessing honour.'

511. MIDDLE KINGDOM (Pl. XCIV)

From de Buck's copy; photograph.

Photograph published in *The Harvard Theol. Review*, 25, 2, pl. iv (top); *Stud. and Doc.* vi, pl. 14, fig. 31.

Below and to the right of **510**.

Man standing, with staff and *sekhem*-sceptre in his hands, facing right. In front of him: '¹ Those who love their god and return (home) in peace are those who shall say: ² A thousand of bread and beer, a thousand of all things on which a god lives to the overseer of interpreters ³ Ankhu and to the interpreter Mereru, true of voice, possessing honour.'

Below four men are represented with their names in a vertical column in front of each:

'⁴ his son, interpreter Mereru, possessing honour,

^a For the name see RANKE, p. 99, 17-19.

- ⁵ his son, interpreter *Sehetepibr̄r*, possessing honour,
⁶ his son, interpreter *Khentekhtayhotep*, possessing honour,
⁷ his son, interpreter *Senwosret*, possessing honour.'

512. MIDDLE KINGDOM (Pl. XCIV)

From de Buck's and Černý's hand-copies; photograph.

Photograph, published in same as **511**.

Just above **511**, as indicated in the plate.

Read  'Stone cutter^a Khuy's son Khnumhotep'.

513. MIDDLE KINGDOM (Pl. XCIV)

From de Buck's hand-copy; photograph.

Photograph published in *Stud. and Doc.* vi, pl. 14, fig. 31 (top right corner).

To the right of **512**.

'Stone cutter^b and judge^c Mery' and 'Sehetepibr̄r' besides two quarrymen marks (?).

514. MIDDLE KINGDOM (Pl. XCIV)

Photograph. To the right of the lower half of **513**. Group of obscure signs.

515. MIDDLE KINGDOM (Pl. XCV)

Partial photograph published in *The Harvard Theol. Review*, 25, 2, pl. iv (top); *Stud. and Doc.* vi, pl. 15, fig. 32 (top left corner).

From de Buck's hand-copy, controlled by a photograph.

To the right of and at the same height as **511**.

'Stone cutter (Ankhtify's son Senbef.'

516. MIDDLE KINGDOM (Pl. XCV)

Partial photograph published in *Stud. and Doc.* vi, pl. 15, fig. 32 (top left corner).

de Buck's hand-copy, controlled by a photograph.

Roughly stippled below and on both sides of **515**, as in the plate.

'He who wishes to return (home) in peace says: Cool libation, burning offering and incense to the intendant Neferhotep.'

517. MIDDLE KINGDOM (Pl. XCIV)

Partial photograph published in *Stud. and Doc.* vi, pl. 15, fig. 32.

From a photograph. Below **511**. A boat and some unintelligible signs.

518. MIDDLE KINGDOM (Pl. XCV)

Partial photograph published in *Stud. and Doc.* vi, pl. 15, fig. 32.

From a photograph. Below **516**. A boat, two quarrymen marks (?) and figures of a bubalis (*Alcelaphus buselaphus*) and an ostrich (*Struthio camelus*). The latter seems to be an interesting proof

^a For a well-preserved example of this form of the sign see **515**.

^b 

^c This title is strange here but there seems to be no alternative.

as to the northern extension of the ostrich. Mr. Warren R. Dawson, to whom we showed the graffito, wrote (in his letter of 30 January 1953) that 'it is quite possible that the ostrich was still inhabiting the Peninsula of Sinai in ancient times as it has been found within the last century in Palestine and in the Syrian desert east of Damascus. It is probable that its range extended southwards from Syria into Africa where it once had a wide distribution, covering most parts of that continent where physical conditions were suitable.' Ancient testimonies on the occurrence of the ostrich in western Asia are conveniently collected in PAULY-WISSOWA, *Real-Encyclopädie der klass. Altertumswiss.*, II. Reihe, Band 4, col. 341 (s.v. Strauss).

519. MIDDLE KINGDOM (Pl. XCVI)

Photograph published in *The Harvard Theol. Review*, 25, 2, pl. iv (bottom); *Stud. and Doc.* vi, pl. 15, figs. 32 and 33.

de Buck's hand-copy; Černý's tracing; two photographs.

To the right of 516, and at the same height.

'¹ *The truly beloved one of his lord, of his affection*^a |² *intendant, governor of Lower Egypt*
|³ *Neferhotep, possessing honour*, |⁴ *born of Sobket, possessing honour. Who wishes* |⁵ *Hathor, mistress*
|⁶ *of the turquoise, to praise him, may he say: Cool libation*, |⁷ *burning offering and incense for the*
ka of the in |⁸ *tendant Neferhotep.*'

520. MIDDLE (?) AND NEW KINGDOM (Pl. XCVI)


From a photograph and de Buck's hand-copy.

A giraffe, in merely stippled outline; there is an axe across the neck of the animal, and partly over a man standing in a boat. Across the man in hieratic: 'Senwosret'. Under the boat can be seen a New Kingdom proper name 'Sunro' (Sl). The latter is a palimpsest over an earlier effaced and illegible inscription.

521. MIDDLE KINGDOM (Pl. XCV)

De Buck's hand-copy, controlled by a photograph.

To the right of 520, but higher.

'Stone cutter Khab's^b son Ameny' in a boat, the figure  serving both as the occupant of the boat and the determinative of the name of Imeny.

522. MIDDLE KINGDOM (Pl. XCVI)

De Buck's hand-copy and a photograph.


To the right of 521.

Picture of a dog (?) followed by confused signs.

523. MIDDLE KINGDOM (Pl. XCVI)


De Buck's hand-copy and a photograph.

Immediately to the right of 522.

An unintelligible sign followed by what should perhaps be interpreted as  'Userka,^c given life eternally'.

^a Read *n st ib'f*, as e.g. 87, S. edge, N. edge, W. face; 90, N. edge, S. edge; 112, E. face.

^c 'crooked' (Wb. III, 361, 13).

^b The proper name  *Hbb*, not in RANKE, means

dom (RANKE, p. 86, 12).

524. NEW KINGDOM (Pl. XCV)

From de Buck's hand-copy and a photograph.

To the right of **523**.

Two boats accompanied by workmen's marks. Below: '*Setekhnakhte, true of voice*', and '*engraver Huy, true of voice*'.

525. NEW KINGDOM (Pl. XCIII)

From de Buck's hand-copy and a photograph.

To the right of **524** and at the same height.

'*Draughtsman^a Pensakhme, true of voice.*'

526. MIDDLE KINGDOM (Pl. XCV)

Černý's hand-copy and a photograph.

To the right of **525** and at the same height.

Unintelligible signs.

527. MIDDLE (?) KINGDOM (Pl. XCIV)

De Buck's and Černý's hand-copies.

On a loose block lying in front of the rock-wall. The outline of a stela with unintelligible signs inside it.

^a *ss-ḳd*.

INDEXES

General note: References to inscriptions, the numbers of which are set in heavy type, are placed before page references. To indicate the position of a word in an inscription where no line reference can be used, the following abbreviations are used: *b* = bottom; *c* = centre; *f* = front; *l* = left; *m* = middle; *r* = right; *t* = top. Names and words unrecorded in the *Wörterbuch* or *Ranke Personennamen* are marked with an asterisk.

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3. a *imy-r* *ḥnwty*, 91 E 6.

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7. 504.

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

Dif-šnb, 122 Wb.
Dity, a *šib*, 17b.
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 . . . *nh*, 143 Wx+7.
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 . . . *wšr*, 96.
 . . . *pn*(?), 112 Wb.
 . . . *m-hb*, 61b.
 . . . *mmw*, 28 8-9.
 . . . *n-ntr*, 110 W 7.
 . . . *ntr*, 122 Wb.
 . . . *nht* 1. 61b.
 2. 143 W 6.
 . . . *hw*, 105 S 3.
 . . . *htp* 1. 85 W, II, 36.
 2. a [*hry-rt*] n *pr-hd*, 110 W 10.
 3. 275b.
 . . . *ht*, a *šib*, 17b.
 . . . *šnb* 1. f. of *Hpr-kj-Rr*, 64l.
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 3. 110 W 5.
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 5. 122 Wb².
 . . . *šth* 1. 85 W, I, 36.
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 . . . *šd*(?), 37.
 . . . *ki*, b. of . . . (?), 429 4.

2. TITLES AND OCCUPATIONS

Note: Epithets are included in Index 6, other than divine epithets which are given with the appropriate god in Index 4.

- ipwty nšw*, 'royal envoy', 181 5; 196 15; 231 A 1; 260; 261;
 p. 19; *i. m* *hst mš*, 184 SN 2; *i. n* *hmf*, 258 N, W, S; *i. hr*
 (or *n* or *r*) *hšwt nbt*, 58 tr; 247 Nb 308; p. 19; *i. hny* n
hmf, 257.
imy-irty, 'pilot', 13l; 16b²; 17b²; pp. 12, 14.
imy-iz, 'he who is in the *iz*', p. 52.
imy-r, 'commander, overseer', 114 Wb².
imy-r imnw, 'overseer of the *imnw*', 32; p. 18.
i. izwy, 'o. of the two council-chambers(?)', 21.
i. rw, 'o. of interpreters', 13l; 16b; 17b; 511 2; pp. 14, 17.
i. prw, 'o. of the ship's crews', 47 5; p. 12.
i. hryw, 'o. of the transport ships', 47 6; 48l; 77; 92 W 4;
 pp. 12, 16, 18.
i. hnwty, 'intendant', 26; 56; 84 I, 2; 86 2; 87 W; 88; 89 L, B;
 90 W I, E; 91 E 6; 92 N(?); 94 (h); 100 S; 102 S; 103 W;
 105 E, S 3; 107; 109; 112 E 7, W I, N, St; 113l; 114 Wt;
 115 W I, S I, N 4; 124 (b) 9(?); 136 E 6, N 2; 137 S 2;
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 contraction of a longer title, p. 15; *i. r* *w*, 65l; 94 (e);
 100 W I; 142 N 3; 143 S 2; 407 3(?); *i. r* *w* (n) *pr-hd*,
 23; 28 2; 54 9-10; 83c; 84²; 108; 119; 120 Eb; 121 3;
 122 Eb; 122 Table; 123 A 7, 11(?), 32, 36-37, 41; 123 B I;
 142 W I, 3, 4, 5, 6, N I, S 2; 143 E 4; 166l; 408^r; pp. 15,
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Rr, 81 I; *i. r* n *Ddd-brw*, 156l; p. 146.
i. pr, 'steward', 58b; 179²; 232; *i. p. wr*, 230; *i. p. wr* n *nšw*,
 194^r; p. 19; *i. p. n* *hmt-nšw*, 58tr.
i. pr-hd, 'o. of the Treasury', 211 4; 217 L; 218; 219²; 220²;
 221 B 2, T 3; 222; 233; 259(?); p. 19; *i. p. n* *nbw* *hd*,
 302 2.
i. mš (i), 'commander of the expedition', I (b); 2c; 16b²;
 pp. 14, 52; status of, p. 17.
 (ii), 'o. of troops (of workmen)', 56; 85 W, I, 1; 93 Wm;
 105 N 21-29; 112 Sb 7; 114 Wb; 117 E 8; 405
 NE; status of, p. 17; *i. m. wr*, 194^r; *i. m. n* *mš*,
 105 N 20; *i. m. n* *hryw-ntr*, 90 Wb; p. 17.
i. md, 'o. of ten', 16b²; p. 15.
i. r-hst nbt nt Wd-wr, 'o. of every river-mouth belonging to
 the sea', 196 15-16; p. 13.
i. ht nbt nt nšw, 'o. of all the king's property', 98r.

- hry-tp Šmꜣw Tj-mhꜣw*, 'chief of Upper and Lower Egypt', 93 N 2.
hrp, 'leader, manager', 105 N 30; 124 (b) 2(?); 136 S 1; 145 2; 200 2; 211 14.
h. ikr n nb trwy, 'excellent l. of the Lord of the Two Lands', 405 SE 2.
h. ꜥꜣw (n) nfr(w), 'sea captain', 131; 17b; pp. 12, 14, 61.
h. ḥ, 'castellan', 27; 51 7; 170; 409 2; 413 W 3, 5.
h. ḥst m tꜣ kyw, 'commander of multitudes in the land of strangers(?)', 54 3-4.
h. nfr(w), 'commander of recruits', 16b2(?); 86 2; 113t; 141 W 2; pp. 12, 14, 16.
h. htpꜣw-ntr (n Ht-hr), 'm. of divine offerings (of H.)', 95 R; 962.
h. škw, 'l. of the gangs', 89 B; 90 1; 406 3; p. 97.
h. Šrkt, 'staff of Selket', 85 N 18; 114 S 1, 11, Sb; 136 Wb; 143 W 3; p. 18.
h. kꜣt nbt n šw, 'director of all the works of the king', 112 E 1.
h. . . . (?), 'm. of . . . (?)', 233.
hꜣw, 'rower', 137 W 2; p. 18.
hry-ꜥ n imy-r šdꜣwty, 'assistant of the overseer of treasure', 105 N 1.
hry-hbt hry-tp, 'chief lector-priest', 123 B2.
hry-ntr, 'stone-cutter', 24; 24 A; 28 9; 32; 33 92; 39 1; 41; 481; 83; 85 W, 1, 2; 90 Wb, N; 105 N 30; 106 S 3; 112 Sb 193, 202, 21, 222; 114 Sb; 117 E 10; 120 Nb2; 137 N 1, Wb 5; 141 Sb; 143 Wb+5; 182 1; 200 2; 306; 512; 513; 515; 521; p. 17; full writing of plural, p. 71; *h. n kꜣw*, 27.
hrd n kꜣp, 'child of the (royal) nursery', 58 tr; 100 N.
s n imnw, 'man of the *imnw*-building', 85 N 29; 106 S 6; 110 W 21; p. 18.
s n ḥꜣw(?), 'm. of the great transport ship(?)', 85 N 14, 15; p. 12.
s n dꜣt, 'ferryman', 28 9(?); 32(?); 92 S 3; 93 Wb; 106 S 4; 120 Nb; 133 A 13(?); 412 N 8; 413 N 6(?), 7(?), S 5; pp. 12, 18.
sꜣ Šrkt, 'protection of Selket', 90 Wb; p. 98.
sꜣ . . . (?), 'guild . . . (?)', 90 Wm.
sꜣ šw, 'king's son', 1 (b); 194r; 260.
sꜣt šw, 'king's daughter', 60; 171 1; 263 L; 3302; s. n *htf*, 71r.
sꜣw, 'ganger', 105 N 13.
sꜣw, 'magician', 117 E 7; 121 8, 9.
sꜣw prꜣw-hꜣd, 'guardian of the Double Treasury', 104 6; 112 E 1.
sib (zib), 'judge', 131; 16b2; 17b; 100 W 4; 123 B 2; 196 16; 219; 220; 513; p. 15; s. *nšw(?)*, 94 (b) 3.
sš(zš), 'scribe', 131; 16b; 17b; 93 Wm; 112 Sb 15; 114 Sb; 116; 122 Ec; 123 B 2; 136 Wb; 143 W 1; 181 1; 183; 184 SN 2; 191 NW, E 4; 211 15, 16; 222; 231 B2; 232; 233; 258 N, W, S; 2761; 305; 409 4; 427 3; 429 2; 508; p. 15; s. *iz dꜣf*, p. 52; s. *wꜣrt mhꜣt*, 115 W 6; s. *bit*, 131; pp. 15, 61; s. *mꜣr n ntr nfr*, 61b; s. (n) *ihꜣw*, 81 4; 502 4; s. n *pr-hꜣd*, 85 N 1; 105 N 4; 194r; pp. 18, 19; s. n *mš*, 412 N 3; s. n *šmdt*, 116/164 6; s. n *dꜣdꜣt n pr-hꜣd(?)*, 103 W; 409 7; 413 N 1(?); s. *nšw*, 211 4; 217 R; 219; 220; 221 B 2, T 3; 222; 255; 259; 295; 321; pp. 18, 19; s. *šꜣhr ihꜣw*, 191 NE, E; NE, N; s. *šꜣn n mš*, 276 4-5; s. *šwꜣt*, 114 S 6; s. *ḥꜣd*, 525; s. . . . (?), 191.
šwꜣw, 'physician', 117 E 7; 121 8.
šmr, 'courtier, friend', 1 (b); 112 E 4; 127 (b)2; 136 W 2; 413 W 1; p. 52; s. *ḥ*, 114 Wt; 427 3; s. *wꜣty*, 83t; 93 S 1; 105 S 1, 2; 120 S 2; 172 2; 194c; 196t, 16; 199 B 1; 275 LE 1; 417l; pp. 16, 19; s. *pr-ḥ*, 86 2; 90 N, S; 141 W 2; s. *nšw ḥ*, 53 9.
šmšw, 'elder', 427 3; s. *is*, 1(b); p. 52.
šꜣ, 'official', 90 3; 93 N 2; 112 E 2, 3; 123 A 26, 42, B 20; 133 B 2; 152; 181 2-3; 407 4; 412 S 2; s. *wꜣw nꜣw štp-sꜣ*, 115 S 3; s. *nšw*, 114 Wt.
šhd, 'controller, inspector', p. 61; s. *ꜣw*, 18 (b); p. 14; s. *ꜣꜣw nfr(w)*, 16b(?); s. *bit*, 131; p. 15; s. *ḥꜣw(?)*, 16b; pp. 14, 52; s. *šꜣw*, 131; 191; 20; p. 15.
šꜣm n Hꜣr m ꜣꜣf, 'leader of H. in his house', 275 LE 1.
škd ꜣꜣw(?), 'captain', 131; 16b; p. 14.
šꜣty-nšw, 'foster-child of the king of Upper Egypt', 93 N 1, 2; 94 (f); 98 B; 100 S; s. *šꜣw m nꜣn*, 120 S 3.
šꜣꜣwty, 'chancellor, treasurer', 30 3; 93 S 2(?); 107; 117 E 6 (?); of a woman, 120 Nb; s. *bitꜣy*, 83t; 93 S 1; 105 S 1, 2; 120 S 1; 127 (b)(?); 172 2; 176; 196t, 16; 199 B 1; 275 LE 1; 417l; pp. 16, 19; s. n *šmšw n ꜣꜣꜣy(t)*, 118 6, 11-12; s. *ntr*, 17b; 23; 26; 47 6; 481; 53 12; 56; 58b(?); 72f; 79b; 80c; 83c; 85 S, N 17; 86 2; 87 N, S; 90 1, 3, N, S; 92 N; 93 Wt; 98r, l, B; 100 W 1; 102 S, N; 104 7; 105 S 3; 108; 109; 112 E 7; W 1, N, S; 113; 115 W 1, S 1; 116; 117 S 1; 119; 120 Eb; 122 Eb; 122 Table; 123 A 7, 32; 129 A; 131c; l; 140 S 1; 141 W 1, 4, S; 304 (c); 408l; 414 3; pp. 14, 15, 19, 66, 195; s. *ntr n Nwt*, 101 A 2; s. *ntr kꜣf-ib*, 116b 1; 405 SE 5; s. *hry-ꜥ n imy-r šdꜣwty*, 27; 28 3, 7; 35 7, 9; 43; 100 W 3; 106 N 4; 107; p. 16; s. *kꜣf-ib*, 30 3, 6.
šꜣꜣw šw, 'king's gentleman', 136 W 2; 413 W 1.
šꜣꜣꜣt n Dꜣꜣꜣꜣ, 'singer of Thoth', 2952.
šꜣꜣꜣy n . . . (?), 'follower of . . . (?)', 105 E.
šꜣꜣꜣw, 'attendant', 112 W 11, Wb; 115 W 7; 170.
šꜣꜣꜣw, type of workman, 106 S 2.
šꜣꜣꜣy whꜣt, 'remover of scorpions', 23b; 24; 112 W 10; 412 N 7; 502 3; pp. 18, 67.
hꜣny, 'gardener', 85 N 28; p. 18.
kꜣ . . y(?), type of workman, 114 Sb.
gmꜣꜣty(?), 'sculptor', 85 N 27; p. 18.
ꜣꜣꜣy mꜣꜣt, see *ꜣꜣꜣy mꜣꜣt*.
ꜣ. hꜣw, 'fan-bearer', 253.
ꜣꜣꜣw, uncertain meaning, 92 W 3; p. 100; *ꜣ. n pr-hꜣd*, 92 S 4.
ꜣꜣty, 'vizier', 255.
dꜣt n šꜣꜣꜣꜣꜣy-ntr, 'serf of the god's treasurer', 109; 110 W 23; 137 Wb 3.
dꜣꜣy, 'ferryman', 85 W, II, 51; p. 18.
 'royal . . . (?)', 1 (b).
 'rꜣis', 322; 35 11(?); 90 Wb5; 114 Wb5; pp. 17, 67; — n *hꜣꜣty-ntr*, 24 A3; 34 (with plural writing of *hꜣ*); p. 17; —  90 Wb3.
. . . (?) *pr-šꜣꜣ*, ' . . . (?) store-house', 106 N 3.
. . . (?) n *ḥ*, ' . . . (?) of the palace', 144 1.
. . . (?) n *pr-hꜣd*, ' . . . (?) of the treasury', 100 S.
. . . (?) n *hꜣꜣt-ntr*, ' . . . (?) of the quarry-work', 136 S 2.
. . . (?) *nfrꜣw*, ' . . . (?) of the young recruits', 404 N.

3. GEOGRAPHICAL AND TOPOGRAPHICAL NAMES

Note: Entries are organized under two headings: A. Ancient Egyptian; B. General.

A. ANCIENT EGYPTIAN

Twnw, 'On, Heliopolis'; in epith. 'Atum, lord of H.', see under Atum, Index 4; in royal titularies, passim.
wnwt, 'nomads', 71; pp. 27, 43.
Tpt-sw, temple of Karnak, 182 2.

rt (n) Št-sw, first station on road to Palestine, 300; p. 194.
rm, 'Asiatic', 24 A; 81 5; 85 N 30; 110 W 22; 112 Sb 14; 114 Sb; p. 19; see also *rm*, *rm*, Index 1.
nh-tw, 'Memphis', in epiths. 'Ptah-Sokar, lord of M.', 'Osiris, lord of M.', 'Ptah, lord of M.', see Index 4.

Wst, 'Thebes', 198 5; 211 3; 295; also in royal title *hkr W*. and royal epith. *hr m W*. passim.
Wd-wr, 'Ocean', 211 17-18, 22.
Wdnt, 'Udenet', 238(?); var. *Wnt*, 427.

Bt, possibly Egyptian name for Sinai, see Index 6.

P, 'Pe', 'Spirits of P', 15; 302 3.
Punt, 'Punt', 211 18; 238(?); 427 1; pp. 1, 12, 13, 41; in epith. 'Thoth, lord of P.', 263 BB, BT.
Pr-wr, Upper Egyptian Sanctuary, p. 55; see also *hry šst P*, Index 2.
Pr-nw, Lower Egyptian Sanctuary, p. 55.
Pr-nr, Lower Egyptian Sanctuary, p. 55; see also *hm-nfr m P*, Index 2.
Pr-Ht-hr-nbt-mfkt, p. 11.
Pr-Špaw, 'Šaft el-Henneh', p. 47.

Mdww, 'Medamūd', 123 B 5(?).
Mfkt, town in Delta, p. 3.
Mfkt, 'turquoise country', in epith. 'Hathor, lady of the t.', see under H., Index 4.
Mn-nh-Nfr-kr-Rr, Pyramid town of Phiops II, 17t.
Mn-nfr-Mry-Rr, Pyramid town of Phiops I, 17t.
Mntw, 'Mentju', 8; 101; 161, l; 112 E 3(?); p. 27; in *št hrt nt M.*, 412 S 1; *M. Šst*, p. 3.
Mdyw, 'Madjo', see *wr n M.*, Index 2.

nwt rlyt, 'southern city', i.e. Thebes, 211 3, 23.
Nhn, 'Nekhen' in 'Spirits of N.', 302 3.
Nhn-Rr, a sanctuary; in *wšht N.*, 13r.

Rht, 'Rakhet', 90 8.
rwd n pr Rr-(Tnn n Wst), 'Tract of Rer-(Tjenen of Thebes)', 295; 369.
Rkwt, possible name for Sinai, p. 3.
Rnw, 'people of Retjenu', 114 Sb; 115 Wb(?); 120 Nb; 136 W 7; pp. 3, 19, 147; *sn n hkr R.*, 85 N 12; 87 W; 92 S 1-2; 112 Wb, Sb 2.

Hm, in *rm n H.*, 110 W 22; p. 19.
Hwt-ihm, 'Hû' in title *imy-r krt n H.*, 231 A 1.
Hbnw, 'Kôm el-Ahmar' in epith. 'Horus, lord of H.', 233.
Hrrwt, possible name for Sinai, p. 3.
Hst, necropolis in Hermopolis, 231 F 2.

Hryt, a town, p. 213.
Hm, 'Letopolis' in epith. 'Horus, lord of L.', see Index 4.
Hmnw, 'Akhmim' in epith. 'Thoth, lord of A.', see Index 4; in other divine epiths., 217 F, R.
htyw, 'terraces', *h. mfkt*, 131; 17b; p. 1; as name of mining districts of Sinai, p. 3.

hnm *Rr-mš-sw Mry-Tnn*, 'well of Ramesses-Meriamün', prob. a station on road to Sinai; in title *hry pgt n h.*, see Index 2.

Sb, 'Sab' in epith. 'Kherty, lord of S.', 120 St.
Shm, 'Sekhem' in epith. 'Kherty, chief of S.', p. 44.
Shb, 'Sekheb' 231 B; p. 171; in epith. 'Har-Rér, lord of S.', 231 F 2-3.

Šst, 'Asia', 54 5; 91 3; 121 7; 200 8; 411 2; pp. 2, 3.

Šmew, 'Upper Egypt', 196 6.
Šmt, 'Šaft el-Henneh', p. 42; possible name for Sinai, p. 42.

Kbny, 'of Byblos', *mnš k.* 275 NE 2.
Kmt, 'Egypt', 90 5; 196 6; 252 2; 254 1; 266; 273 3; 275 F 4.
Kmwy, 'Athribis' later writing of *Kmw*, p. 92; in epith. 'Khentekhtay, lord of A.', see Index 4.

Ti-mhw, 'Delta', 137 S 3; 196 6; 275 LE 3; see also *imy-r T.*, Index 2.
Trw-nfrw, 'lands of the Gods', 142 N 2.
Tp-ihw, 'Aṭfih' in epith. 'Hathor, lady of A.', see Index 4.

T'rw, 'Tjaru, Sele', see *huty-r n T.*, Index 2.

Tny, 'This', 184 SN 3, SW 2; in epith. 'Mehyt, who is in T.', 191 NE, E.
Tnt-kr(?), an unknown district (*w*), 427 2.

Dšrt, 'Red land', 196 6.
Dšrw, 'those of the Red land', 136 W 8.

Dgd, unknown country, 120 Et; 317 A (b)(?); p. 198.

B. GENERAL

Abu Zenima, p. 13.
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 Aphroditopolis, see Aṭfih.
 Arabia, nome of, pp. 29, 42.
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Aṭfih, see under 'Hathor, lady of A.', Index 4.
 Athribis, see *Kmwy*, Index 3 A.
 Atika, p. 13.
 Ausim, place in Letopolite nome, p. 44.

Baki, Horus of, p. 29.
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- Bibit(-Sneferu), false name for mining districts of Sinai, p. 1.
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 G. Umm Raglein, twin peaks, p. 32.
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 G. Umm Sakran, p. 6.
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 Tartîr ed-Dhami, mountain, p. 32.
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 W. Barlah, pp. 13, 32.
 W. Bateh, see W. Barlah.
 W. Gasûs, stela from, p. 18.
 W. Genâ, see W. Iḳnâ'.
 W. Gharandel, p. 6.
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 W. Iḳnâ', pp. 8, 22, 59, 67, 217.
 W. Kenâ', see W. Iḳnâ'.
 W. Kharî, p. 6; ancient remains of, pp. 30 f.
 W. Kunayah, pp. 8, 22, 23.
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 W. Maghârah, incorrect name for M., p. 22.
 W. Malha, p. 6.
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 W. Ramthi, p. 6.
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6. VARIOUS EGYPTIAN WORDS AND PHRASES

Note: This index is not a complete vocabulary of the texts included in this volume.

- ibw*, v. 'brand', **90** 7.
ibw, 'ivory', **275** LE 3.
ibd, second day of the lunar month, **114** S 2.
rr, 'curb', **88**.
ibt, 'diadem', **136** W 8.
ibb, 'bad smell', **127** (c).
im, 'bind', **64**.
iwu n-f urw n ksw, 'to whom the great ones come bending', **93** N 2; **412** S 2.
iwon, 'column', **310** (a); **317** (a); **317** A (a).
ib, 'heart' in *ib mrr*, **244** 4.
ibš, a crown, **5**.
[tp](?) nbw hnt hq n prwy-hq, '[who counts] gold and silver of the Two Treasuries', **123** A 35.
ipt, 'mission', **12**; **16b**; **19r**; **25** 4; *i. nsw*, **2c**; **13l**; **14**; **15**; **17b**; p. 28.
ipt, 'oipe-measure', **123** B 4.
ipw, ?, **114** S 3.
ipwt, 'accounts' in *hp n i.*, **142** N 4.
imy-rn-f, 'name-list', **92** W 1; **115** W 4; **141** W 29.
imn, 'hide', **110** S; **124** (b) 7; **136** S 3; **137** W 4; **182** 5; **413** W 7.
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ih, 'large cattle', **114** S 4; in census dating, **13r**; **14**; **17t**.
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itn, 'sun's disk', 196 8; 244 2; 302 4.
*itzi**(?), a measure(?), 123 B 9, 10.
- ci*, 'ass, donkey', 110 W 24; 112 W 11; 114 Sb; 120 Nb; 136 Nb; 137 Wb 3; 412 N 12.
ci, 'gem', 137; 36 2; 90 17; 101 A 3; 112 E 2; 114 E; 116b 1; 141 W 3; 296 5; 405 SE 3.
ci, 'greatness' in *n-ci-n*, 53 16.
cwt, 'small cattle', 114 S 4; in census dating, 137; 171.
cbr, 'boast' in *fs n c*, 31.
cpr ch m hrt, 'who provides the palace with necessities', 412 E 3.
cprt, a pot, 123 B 4, 7(?) 11.
cprwt-c(?), ? perhaps to be read *qbrwt-c*, 142 N 4.
cn hr, 'merciful of face', 263 plinth².
crky, last day of month, 211 7.
chr, 'standing', 3; p. 55.
chrw, 'space of time', 123 A 30; 303.
ch, 'furnace', see *wih ch*.
chm, 'falcon' of Sopdu, 328.
chs, 'pigeon(?)', 91 W.
*ch ib n(?) nb*f, 'one taken into the confidence of his lord', 86 2-3; 113f(?).
*ch r rphw(?) nb st*r, 'one who enters into any secret . . . (?)', 101 A 2.
ch r-hit pr hr ph, 'who enters first and comes out last', 199 B 3.
chr, 'exact', *c. mtr*, 141 N.
- w*, 'district', 427 2.
wih ch, festival of 'placing the furnace', 122 Table; 408l.
wig, 'wag-feast', 122 Table; 408l.
wid, a bird, 105 Eb; 114 S 5; 143 N 2.
wid, a green stone, 'malachite(?)', 'felspar(?)', p. 125; in 'Neith lady of w.', 121 10.
wr, in epiths.: *w. mn*h, 311; *w. ih n nsw*, 101 A 1; 405 1.
wrt, 'goat', 91 W; 112 W 8.
wrrw in *m w*, 'in private', 51 6.
wrb, 'pure' in *w. qbrw*, 109.
wrt, 'quarter', 24 A⁴.
wpt-rmpt, 'opening of the year (feast)', 122 Table; 408l.
wm, 'open' (a gallery), 53 1.
wm-hr, feast of 'unveiling', 123 B 10.
wmw, 'task, office' in *hmwv ikr n wmw-f*, 36 1.
wrt imt, 'great in charm', 98c.
wrt hst, 'great in favour', 98c.
wrryt, 'chariot', 198 5-6.
wrd, 'be weary', 137 W 2; 140 S 8-9.
wrm, 'repeat': *w. cn*h, 51 8; 122 Ec²; 142 N 1; 184 SN 3, SW 7, SWb; 191 NE, E; NW, E 4; 194c; 196 16; 199 B 4; 231 A 3; 257; 327²; *w. mswt*, 247 N 2; *w. nfr*, 53 6; *w. nfrt*, 405 SE 4; *m w*, 244 3.
wht, 'dock', see title *ss hsb n tr w*, Index 2.
wsm (for *wst*), 'be in ruins', 244 4.
wsht, 'broad hall', 137; *w. hbyt*, 91 E 6.
wd, 'entrust', 85 W (written *wid*).
wg, 'stela', 118 8.
wgt, 'send forth', 261; 275 Fb; 284.
wgt, 'storeroom', 275 LE 2; 310 (a).
wdyt, 'expedition', 411 1.
wgwo (*wdy*), 'expedition', 294; 302 3.
wghw, 'altar', 53 13; 182 3.
- bw* (i) 'Spirits': of Pe and Nekhen, 15; 302 3.
 (ii) 'will, might' of king or god, 90 13; 106 W 6; 114 Wt; 123 A 29(?); 141 W 13, 28; 180 W 3, 5; 196 7, 12, 14.
bit, sort of bread, 181 7.
bit, 'honey', 123 B 4, 15.
bl, 'mining district', 36 3, 5-6, 8; 53 3; 90 2, 3², 9, 13; 106 N 1; 115 W 5; 117 E 9; 141 W 5; 167; 409 4; possibly Egyptian name for Sinai, pp. 1 ff.
bl, 'copper', 23; 127 (b); 182 6; used of turquoise ore, 90 11; see titles *ss b*, *shd b*, Index 2.
bht, 'fan', see *hbs b. n hm*f.
bs, 'introduce', 296 8.
bdt, 'bed' (of cucumbers), 136 S 1.
bds, 'faint, be downcast', 90 4, 6, 15; 136 S 3; 137 W 1; 140 S 3.
- pst*, 'antiquity, primeval times', 110 S; 124 (b) 8; 137 W 4; 196 15; 200 9.
pkt, 'fine linen', 53 14; 112 W 3.
pr-nsw, 'palace', 47 4; 51 4; 172 2.
pr-nb, 'treasury of gold', 144 2.
prwi-nbw, 'double treasury of gold', 136 E 2.
prwi-hd, 'double treasury of silver', 136 E 2; see also title *sw p*, Index 2.
pwt-lb, 'passion', 33 7.
pwt-Mnw, festival 'appearance of Min', 408l.
pri, 'battlefield', 198 11.
ph, 'reach' = 'reach home', 28 6-7; 36 3; 40 4; 48r; 53 4; 115 N 4; 142 S 1; 401 2; 413 W 2; 510 3 (followed by *pr*); 511 1; 516; p. 69; = 'equal', 181 10.
phw, 'limits', 54 8.
pg, 'stretch', 310 (b); 317 (b).
*pgi-hr hr swdt n*f, 'frank of face in regard to what is entrusted to him', 112 E 1.
pd, 'ball' (e.g. of incense), 123 B 7, 10, 12, 13.
pdt, 'bow', p. 9, 'the 9 bows', 136 W 8; 198 1, 3; 247 N 2; as 'Golden Horus' name of Setnakht, 271 2; royal epith. 'ruler of 9 bows', 247 N 8; 252 4-5; 263 B, F; 267; epith. of Sethos I 'strong of bows in all lands', 247 N 3.
- fh*, 'depart, break off (work)', 90 16; p. 140.
fk, 'rations', 137 W 20; 140 S 9.
- m*, prep. written for *n* before *b*, 101 A 1.
mr, 'true', used after titles and epiths., 61b; 71l; 118 4; 219; 296 4; 406 4; 500 3; 519 1; see also *rh-nsw*, Index 2.
mr, 'send', 23; 86 2; 90 1; 141 W 1; 'bring offerings', 123 B 7, 9, 10, 14.
miny(?), kind of pot, 123 A 4.
my, 'equal', 53 13.
mrr, 'successful, excellent', in *m m*, 90 23.
mfrt, 'turquoise', 4 (written *fkrt*); 23; 26; 48l; 72f; 90 9; 94 (b) 13; 96; 105 Eb; 110 S; 123 B 21; 124 (b) 7; 136 E 8; 137 W 4, 7; 141 W 8; 182 6; 196 11; 200 8; 211 5, 20; 275 LE 3; 302 3; 411 3; *hst m*, p. 3; *qso m*, p. 3; amulets made of, p. 10; 'field of t.', p. 9; 'gardens of t.', p. 9; nature and meaning of, pp. 3 ff.; see also *htyw*.
mn mrwt m pr-nsw, 'abiding of love in the king's house', 172 2.
mn tbt, 'firm of sandals', 71l; 117 W; 118 4; 141 N.
mnt, 'example': *tr m*. 'prove', 90 5.
mnit, 'menat-necklace', 112 W 5.
mnwt = *mnwt* 'pigeon', 105 Eb; 114 S 5; 115 N 6.
mnw, 'monument', 67²; 72f; 95 F; 123 A 4, 33; 128; 130r; 200 3; 244 4; 263 A (d) 4; 277 W; 314 (a).
mnwr, kind of incense, 411 3; pp. 9, 208.

mnš, a ship, 275 LE 2.

mry:f n ib n nb:f, 'beloved of the heart of his lord', 302 I.

mry:f n št-ib:f, 'his beloved of his affection', 27; 36 I; 47 3-4; 85 S; 87 N; S; 90 N; S; 101 A I; 112 E I; 113 I; 117 W; 123 A 34; 131 I; 405 SE I, SW; 406 2; 412 E; *m. nb:f n š.*, 118 4; 121 4; 500 3; 519 I.

mryt, 'coast', 181 9.

mhwt, 'family', 302 5.

mh-ib n Hr m ch:f, 'favourite of H. in his palace', 199 B 2.

mh-ib (n) nšw, 'favourite of the king', 88; 93 E; 104 6; 114 E; 1166 2(?); 147 N; 405 SE 3.

mh-ib nšw m ct, 'favourite of the king in the ct-chamber', 104 5.

mh-ib nšw m pr-nšw, 'favourite of the king in the house of gold', 123 A 34.

ms, 'offer' written *mš* (𓄢), 72f.

mstiw, 'descendant', 137 S 2; 196 3.

mšr, 'force, expedition', 23; 31; 33 6; 44; 53 I; 90 15; 22; 23; 114 Sb; 115 N 5; 117 E 9; 136 S 3, W 7; 140 S 4, 7; 141 W 25; 182 I; 196 10; 200 2; 296 2; pp. 16, 52; see also title *imy-r m.*, Index 2.

mty, 'correct, proper', 90 19; in *m. ib*, 136 E 1.

mtr, 'reliable' in *ck m.*, 141 N; *m. n nb:f hnt hšw*, 405 SE 4; *m. n nšw hnt šrw:f*, 112 E 2; 421 E 2.

mtšn, 'road', 71r; 181 2.

mdd, 'tread' in *m. wst šmnh šw*, 25 3; 33 4; 196 11.

nšw, 'ibex', 91 W.

nš, 'call' = 'appoint X' r 'to be . . .', 181 5.

nšw, 'gold', 91 E 5; 182 3; 211 21; 275 LE 3; as name of Hathor, 415 (a) B.

nfr, 'good' in *n n.* 'to success(?)' 90 5; *m n. sp* 2, 90 22.

nfr, 'youth', 113b; p. 14; see also title *hnp n.*, Index 2 and *šm* 'company'.

nmšt, a vase, 125 (a)-(c) R; 191 NE, W(?).

nmšt, 'footsteps', 47 5; 275 RE 2; for *hrw n.* see *hrw*.

nbj, 'mourn', 416.

nhb, 'open up(?)', 47 3; 481; 51 3; 53 8; 56; 137 W 7.

Nhny, 'he of Nekhen', 3.

nšmt, 'green felspar', 182 6; 200 8; p. 9.

ngšw, kind of cattle, 105 Eb.

nti, 'hasten', 137 S 1; p. 137.

ng-hr, 'present' in *n. m nmšt*, 125 (a)-(c) R.

ndr, 'seize', 90 16; 106 W 4; 136 S 3; 137 W 1; 140 S 5; 211 17.

r šhrr m hšwst, 'the mouth who brings satisfaction in foreign countries', 433.

r-pr, 'temple', 136 W 6.

r-šrw, 'battle, mellay', 198 4.

rwđ, 'strong' in *r. rwy*, 124 (b) 4.

rwđt, 'hard stone', 317 (a), A (a).

rpnn (or *tpnn*)?, 112 W 10.

rmn, 'arm' in *irt r. n*, 181 3.

rmj-krt, 'work-people', 211 21.

rn, 'name' in *rn nfr*, 24; 25 5; 981; 414 4; see also *imy-rn:f*.

rš šd rđ-f m pr-nšw, 'knowing the place of his foot in the palace', 47 4; 112 E 2; 157; 412 E 2.

ršw?, determined with □ in *ck r ršw nb šti*, 101 A 2.

rhyt, 'subjects', 196 9; 301 5.

rht, 'number, list', 85 W; 105 E; 112 W 3; 114 Sb; 117 E 9; 136 Nb; 181 7; 412 N 11.

rkh, festival of 'heat', 122 Table; 4081.

hb, 'tread', 114 E; 1166 2; 405 SE 3.

hbnj, 'ebony', 427 2.

hbhb, 'explore', 44; 54 7; 88; 118 5; 140 S 1; 142 N 2; 143 N 1(?).

hp, 'law', 146 N.

hnyt, a sweet foodstuff, 123 B 6, 8.

hrw, 'be content': *h. hr*, 33 5-6; 35 5; 141 N; *h. nmmt*, 33 4; 35 3; 711; 118 5; 131c; 136 E 1(?); 157.

hrw, 'day' in *h. 10 tpy* 'decade', 123 B 14.

hʾ, 'would that!', as a noun 'wish', 90 18.

hʾt, 'front': *hr h.*, 109; possibly early writing of *hʾt sp* 2, p. 54.

hʾw, 'excess': *rđi h. hr*, 'do more than', 90 17, 21; 137 S 1; 196 11-12; without *hr*, 244 3.

hʾk, 'capture', 136 S 1.

hwt nt hš n rnpt, 'mansion of millions of years', 276 2.

hwt-ntr, 'temple': *h. nt Ht-hr nbt mfkrt*, 123 B 3, 21.

hwtt, 'gallery', 26; 47 3; 481; 51 I; 52; 53 I, 8; 56; 136 E 7; 137 N 2; W 7; 159; p. 68.

hb, 'make festive', 119.

hb, 'festival', 38(?); 244 3; *h. wr (t hnkrt)*, 122 Table; 4081; *h. Škr*, 122 Table; 4081; *irty m h.*, name of a mine(?), 90 19; *s n h.*, 35 6.

hb-šd, 'sed-festival', 16tr; 114 Wm²; 122 Et²; 210; 211 6; 212 Ft; 215; 217 B; 263 A (d) 1; 275 Ft; 292; pp. 27, 62;

epiths. *wr h.*, 273 2; *nb h.*, 275 F 2; 298.

hbyr, 'festival gifts', 53 15.

[*hbš*] *bht n hm:f*, 'who holds the fan of his majesty', 183; 184 SW 2.

hmt, 'bronze', 182 3(?).

hsw(?), a food offering(?), 123 B 10.

hnskrt, 'lock of hair', 198 7.

hr-tp, 'on behalf of', 112 W 2.

hrt-ib, 'who is in the heart of' = 'guest in' (fem.), 124 (a)r².

hkr, 'prince': *h.w wrw*, 136 W 7; *h. Rtnw*, 85 N 12; 87 W; 92 S 1-2; 112 Wb, Sb 2; *h. hst*, 14.

htm, mineral used as eye-paint, 200 8; pp. 9, 162.

htr, 'yoke' (of horses), 198 5.

htr, 'assess', 141 W 7.

htr, 'assessment', 141 W 25, 26.

hđ, 'white linen', 53 14.

hđ, 'silver', 182 3; 275 LE 3.

hđt, 'white crown', 196 3.

hʾ, 'hall, office', 123 A 4; 310 (b); 317 (a); 415 (a) B; kind of shrine, p. 37; *h. n tpwt*, 142 N 4.

hry, 'measuring tape', 141 N.

hřd, a cake, 123 B 6, 12, 13, 15.

hwšt, 'build', 123 A 5.

hpr hr rdwy hm:f, 'who came into being at the feet of his majesty', 100 N.

hfr, a cake, 123 B 6, 7, 9, 10, 12; 137 Wb 4.

hmt, 'do a thing for the third time', 211 5.

hnd, 'tread', 211 14, 19; 296 3.

hnp rs-tp twty [mity-f?], 'watchful director without equal', 275 RE 1.

hnp rs-tp n wn mšr, 'watchful director in very truth', 275 LE 1.

hšbd, 'lapis lazuli', 105 Eb; 112 W 6; 182 6; 200 8; 275 LE 3; 411 3; p. 9; see 'Hathor, lady of I.', Index 4.

htyw, 'terraces', see Index 3 A.

hšw, a pot, 123 B 4.

hšw, a vase, 112 W 5.

hn, v. 'trouble', 90 7.

hsw, 'Residence', 43.

hnmt, 'well', 196 12; see also title *hry pđt n ti h.*, &c., Index 2.

hrtj-ntr, 'necropolis', *nb n h.*, 127 (c).

hkr-nšw, 'royal ornament', 112 W 6.

- ht*, 'body' = 'company of gods' in titulary of Phiois I, 16; p. 62.
- st-ti*, 'floor', 310 (a); 317 A (a).
- srw twt-f m hwt nb hrw n wp-r*, 'whose arrival is awaited in the House of Gold on the day of the opening of the mouth', 104 6-7.
- srw twt-f m hwt hsmn(?) hrw mst*, 'whose arrival is awaited in the House of Bronze(?) on the day of creating', 104 7.
- srw twt-f n* (sic) *st-nfrt*, 'whose arrival is awaited in the good place', 112 E 2.
- st(w) twt-f r st-[nfrt?]*, 'whose arrival is awaited at the [good?] place', 112 E 6.
- sb-n-šdt*, 'burnt-sacrifice', p. 46.
- sbl*, 'send', 411; see also *gb*.
- sbt*, 'guidance', 53 15.
- sp*, 'time, occasion': *m s.*, 110 S; *r s. nfr*, 181 9.
- sn*, 'likeness': in *m s. n*, 217 F; p. 168.
- snw*, 1, 141 W 10.
- sntyw*, 'rebels', 112 E 3(?).
- ss*, 'water-pool', 196 13.
- sst*, a cake, 123 B 6, 10, 12, 13.
- sst*, 'sistrum', 91 E 5; 112 W 4.
- st*, 'place' in compounds: *st-n*, 131c; 168 4; *st-hr*, 110 S; 124 (b) 5-6; 137 S 3; *st-Hr*, 182 8.
- šb*, 'variegated' in epith. of Horus *š. šwt*, 'with multi-coloured feathers', 154.
- šh*, 'reach', 118 9.
- šh*, 'dignitary', 196 5.
- šwh*, 'boast', 198 2-3.
- šwht*, 'egg', 196 5.
- šwd*, 'hand over', 104 6; 112 E 1.
- šbi*, 'pupil' in epith. *š. n Hr nb šh*, 93 N 1; 98 B.
- šbk*, 'successful, happy', 90 9.
- špr*, 'reach', 136 W 1; 211 23; *š. r*, 'succeed', 90 W 16; 106 W 4; 136 S 3; 137 W 1; 140 S 4; 141 W 12; 413 W 4.
- špd*, 'keen' in *š. hr*, 'one keen of sight', 53 4; 112 E 3; 189; 233; 234; 235b 1; 243; probable origin of name *špaw*, p. 42.
- šfb*, 'dismiss, bring to an end', 141 W 25.
- šm*, 'deed', 141 W 28; p. 140.
- šmry m* [*hrw nfr*], 'who joins in the celebration', 35 6.
- šmryw n f hrt twy*, 'to whom are reported the desires of the Two Lands', 105 S 1.
- šmnh*, 'promote', 181 4(?).
- šmnh šw*, 'benefactor', 25 3; 33 5; 35 4; 196 11.
- šmdt*, 'subjects', 25 2; see also *šš n* *š.*, Index 2.
- šnt*, 6th day of the lunar month, 114 S 2.
- šntr*, 'incense', 123; 123 B 6, 7², 10, 12, 13, 20; 137 N 3; 142 W 2, S 2; 166l; 167; 182 4; 191 NE, E; 408r; 410; 502 2; 510 4; 516; 519 7; *š. n htpw*, 123 B 4.
- šr*, 'foretell', 211 18.
- šrf*, 'heat' in *kb š.*, 'cool of temperament', 47 4.
- šrw*, 'reveal', 182 5.
- šht*, 'sekhet-sceptre' in *wš š.*, 16tr.
- šhty*, 'peasant', 85 W, II, 51; 106 S 5; 112 Sb 21; 114 Sb; 120 Nb; 137 Wb 2; 413 5, 6(?).
- šhnty*, 'double crown', 196 2.
- šhnt*, 'exalt', 181 5.
- ššpt*, 'cucumber', 136 S 1.
- ššm*, 'produce', 53 10.
- ššh*, 'exalt', 106 W 6; 114 Wt; 115 S 2.
- škr*, 'smite', 7l; 8; 10l; 14; 16tl; = 'present' (loaf of bread), 180 E.
- šgrh*, 'pacify, quell', 212 Fb.
- štp*, 'choose': *š. m-hr-ib*, 112 E 4; *š. hnt*, 25 2.
- štp-sr*, 'palace', see title *šrw nsw š.*, Index 2.
- šnt*, 'promote, exalt', 120 S 5.
- šd*, a garment, 110 S; 124 (b) 7.
- šdt*, 'flame' in *šntr hr š.*, 53 15; 91 E 5-6; as an offering, 410; 502 2; 510 4; 516; 519 7; see also *sb-n-šdt*.
- šdf*, 'provide', 53 15; 91 E 6.
- š*, 1, see *šmy-r š*, Index 2.
- šyt*, a cake or food, 123 B 8, 12.
- šwt*, a cake or food, 123 B 8.
- šw m dbi(?)*, 'one free from bribery', 405 SE 2.
- šbn*, 'various', 53 14.
- šm-ii*, 'go and come', 53 16.
- šmrt*, 'bow', 198 6.
- šnyt*, 'courtiers', 127 (b); 181 6.
- šnut*, 'granary', 275 LE 2.
- šndyt*, 'apron', 112 W 4.
- šs*, 'alabaster', 112 W 6.
- šsmt*, 'malachite', 182 6; 200 8; pp. 9, 42, 125; in 'eye of Rē', lord of m., 121 10.
- šimty*, epith. of Horus, p. 43.
- štr*, 'quality': *š. tpy* 'first q.' (of turquoise), 141 W 9.
- šdty**, 'ward' in *š. bity*, 93 N 1; p. 101.
- kb*, 'double', 53 15-16.
- kby*, a stone, 310 (b); 317 (b).
- kbh*, 'libation', 181r; 189; 196l; 198t; 199 A.
- kbhw*, 'cool draught', 10r; 410; 502 2; 510 4; 516; 519 6.
- kmyt*, 'gum', 238; *k. šty*, 211 18.
- kkt*, an offering, 123 B 4.
- kww*, 'nourishment', 125 (a)-(c) R.
- kfr-ib*, 'open of heart, careful', 30 3; 104 5; 120 Nb; p. 70.
- kšw*, 'bending' in *šw n f wryw m k.*, q.v.
- g'w*, 'lack', 90 12.
- t*, 'bread' in *t-hd*, 'white loaf' used of loaf of turquoise, 72f.
- ti-nt-htr*, 'cavalry', 250.
- ti-špš*, a tree, 238.
- tit*, 'image', 196 3.
- twr*, 'clean' in *t. qbrw*, 301 5.
- tšš*, 'heel' in *hrt t-f*, 87 W.
- tp-nfr*, 'favourable moment, success', 90 16; 106 W 4; 123 A 8, B 5; 136 S 3; 137 W 1; 140 S 5; 159(?) ; *r t.* 'successfully', 53 1; 'at a favourable moment', 90 14; 141 W 13.
- tp-rmpt*, 'first day of the year (feast)', 122 Table; 408l.
- tpt*, 'first quality oil', 143 N 2.
- tpnn* (or *rpnn*), 1, 122 W 10.
- tfrrt*, a semi-precious stone, 411 3; pp. 9, 208.
- tr*, 'time, season', 90 2, 3, 10, 11, 12, 19.
- thn*, 'brilliant(?)' of turquoise, 26.
- thnt*, 'faience', 53 13.
- ibt*, 'sandal', see *mn ibty*.
- tnwl*, 'numbering', 196 11; in census of cattle for dating, 13r; 14; 17t; p. 60.
- ts*, 'utterance', 31.
- tz*, 1, in damaged context, 22.
- dv*, 'subdue', 5; 8; 10l; 16tl; p. 57.
- dwr*, 'adore', 106 W 6; 114 Wt.
- dbw*, 1, 141 W 10.
- dbht-htp*, 'offering-table, offering-list', 123 B 7.

dmḡ, 'total' followed by prep. *r*, 114 Sb.

dš, 'jug', 112 W 6.

dšr, 'red crown', 196 4.

dd hr n (?), 'one who takes charge of (?)', 405 SE 2.

ḡt, 'remainder', 137 Wb 6.

ḡm, 'company, generation', 90 23; 116b 2; *ḡ nfrw*, 85 W; with *ḡ* not written, 137 Wb 6.

ḡḡt, 'head' in *hr ḡ*, 'per head', 137 W 1.

ḡḡt, 'company', 92 W 1; 106 N 1; 115 W 4; 141 W 28.

ḡr, a measure or container, 123 B 6.

ḡrr, 'seek', 181 4.

ḡbi, 'adorning': *ḡ sbt*, 'fitting out' (of an expedition), 182 1; 200 2.

ḡbrwt-(?), ?, 142 N 4; perhaps to be read *ḡprwt-r*.

ḡbr, 'finger', see *wrb ḡ*.

ḡrw, 'boundaries', 54 6.

ḡrwu, 'ribs', 123 B 11.

ḡhwtt, 'feast of Thoth', 122 Table; 408l.

ḡdd-brw, 2, possibly a royal epith.; see title *imy-r ḡhmoty n D.*, Index 2.

𐤊𐤍 'stairway', a fern. word (not *rw* or *htyw*), 89 B; p. 97.

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